

ITI HAS

Journal of the Andhra Pradesh State Archives



Editor

Sri P. SITAPATI

M.A., (Leeds), I.A.S., F.R.A.S. (London),
Commissioner for Archives, Archaeology and Museums

Vol. VIII

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Jt. Editor

Dr. M. A. NAYEEM



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Research Officer

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EDITORIAL

The January-June Issue of 1980 (the previous issue) was a special issue of *Itihas* on the temples of Andhra Pradesh with special reference to history, art and architecture. The special issue was brought out to commemorate the Second World Telugu Conference held at Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia, during the period between 15th and 19th April, 1981. We are happy to note that the special issue was well received both by scholars and the public.

In this issue, several important historical research papers have been included. We propose to provide space in future issues for research articles on Numismatics. We also propose to provide a 'Letters to the Editor' column where short notes on research work done and brief reports on matters of historical and archaeological interest can be reported as in the case of established research journals. We request the world of scholars to take advantage of these new facilities for publication of their research work.

P. Sitapati

The History of Srisailam Sri Mallikarjuna Swamy Temple

P. Sitapati

M. A. (Leeds), I. A. S., F. R. A. S. (London).

Introduction

Srisailam Temple is an ancient temple in Andhra Pradesh. Andhra *Desa* is also known as *Trilinga Desa*. The word Telugu is also said to be derived 'from *Trilinga* which is said to have been converted and corrupted to the word Telugu'. The famous *Trilinga* temples of Andhra *Desa* are the Srisailam Temple in Kurnool District, the Sri Kaleswaram Temple in Karimnagar District and Draksharama Temple in East Godavari.

Srisailam is a celebrated hill town in Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh with a great ancient shrine for Lord Mallikarjuna. The presiding deity in the temple is Sri Mallikarjuna and the Lord's consort is Sri Brahmarambikadevi. The temple is one of the well known *dwadasa jyothirlinga* temples of the country; similarly the shrine for Sri Bramarambikadevi is equally famous as one of the *ashtadasa mahasakti pithams*. Sankaracharya has worshipped this Lord in his famous *dwadasa jyothirlinga stotras* and also in the famous 50th *sloka* of Sivanandalahari which reads as follows:

శ్లో॥ సంధ్యారంభ నిజభిరంశితం శృతి శర స్థానాంతరాధిష్ఠితం
సప్రేమ భ్రమరాభి రామను సకృత్ ద్యాసనా శోభితం
భోగీంద్రా భరణం సమస్త సుమనః పూజ్యం గుణావిష్ణుకం
సేవే శ్రీగిరి మల్లికార్జున మహాలింగం శివాలింగితం॥

The punning on the word *bhramara* indicating that Mallikarjuna of Srigiri is the Lord of Bhramarambika and also Lord of *bhramaras* is worth noting.

The Srisailam area has been a thick impregnable forest part of Nallamalai forests for centuries. The area become accessible only in recent years in this century. The tribals especially the Chenchus have been the dwellers

in the area. The Sivalinga worshipped here, must have been a tribal deity worshipped for centuries before Christ. The tribal society worshipped the self manifested 'Linga' Siva during these pre-historic centuries. The Chenchus even today worship the Swami with the resounding slogan '*Cheduko—Mallayya!*' Thus this Lord has been an ancient Deity. The first shrine for the Lord must itself have been a temporary jungle structure. There is thus no doubt that this temple has been one of the oldest shrines in India.

Srisailam-the sacred hill known as Sriparvata is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* in connection with Arjuna's visit to the south. The *Agnipurana* also mentions Sriparvata and the sanctity of these hills.

Traditional History

The Srisailam *Kaifiyat* recorded by one Daryapati Narayana Rao, *mutasaddi* of Major Colin Mackenzie in the year 1810 gives the traditional history of Srisailam temple indicating its origin. Giving the traditional history the *Kaifiyat* mentions that Lord Siva informed his consort Parvati that a mountain more important than the mountains in Kailasa, Meru and Himalayas, named Srigiri is in Bhuloka. On hearing this Parvati asked "Swamy, what is the reason for that *parvata* being so superior. This may be explained in detail." The Lord who is omniscient then answered her "Listen, Oh! Parvati! Other mountains do not possess the '*Anima*' and other eight supernatural perfections. These are possessed by this mountain, and aptly deserving the name of Srigiri, this *Parvata* is suitable for our residence." This is mentioned in *Skandapurana* in the dialogue between Sanat Kumara and Vyasa.

Srisailam is described in a *sloka* as follows:

*Srisailay Sasramay Ramye Siddha Charana Sevite Nana Pushpa Latha
Kirne Nava- Pushpa Phalodayay.*

Srisaila is endowed with various kinds of fruit and flower—bearing trees, creepers and fauna comprising of tigers, birds and various other creatures. Srisailam is endowed with different minerals and has a circumference of thirty *yojanas*, an altitude of one *yojana* and is as important as Banares in the South.

Parvati then asked her Lord "why He took up residence in Srisailam in preference to Meru hills and Himalayas". Eswara replied "Oh Parvati! listen! Just as the ocean of milk is a suitable residential place for Lord Vishnu, just as, Kailasa is acceptable to my mind, even so Srisailam is acceptable to me as my residential place."

The Srisaila *kshetra mahatyam* was then explained by the 'Digambara' to Parvati as follows: "Oh Parvati ! Listen ! The Mahatya of Srisaila is recognis-

sed in *Puranas*. This mountain is famous in all the three worlds. I shall therefore explain its special traits.

A pious and virtuous brahmin by name Parvata in Kritayuga, roaming in the Srisailam forest area observed a mango tree. This mango tree appeared unique to him, comparable to the Kalpa Vriksha. This tree was therefore selected by him and he performed *tapas* seated in *padmasana*, under the tree for a long time when, Lord Siva—who was pleased, appeared before him with his consort Parvati, riding on the Nandi vehicle. Parvata then performed *pradakshna* around the Lord, with 'Sashtanga' *namaskarams* and *stotras* with folded hands and sought three boons. Parvata desired as the first boon that his head should turn into a mountain with an area of three *yojanas*, circumference of thirty *yojanas* and an altitude of one *yojana*. The second boon: The Lord should reside on his *masthaka* permanently along with Sri Maha Vishnu, Brahma and thirty crores of celestial beings along with the most excellent flowing-waters of Ganga.

The third boon, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras— all the people of four *varnas* who go over and have *darshan* of the 'Shikara' on his *masthaka* should obtain *mukthi* or deliverance from re-birth. The Lord granted these three boons and Parvata was transformed into the shape of a 'Sailam'. The Lord then took up residence on Srisailam with his consort an 'amsa' of Parvati along with all Pramadh Ganas.

The Mahatya of the mountain was then expounded by Eswara. Any human being visiting Srigiri and having *darshan* of the Lord in the month of Karthika would obtain merit equal of the performance of one thousand *yagnas*. Similarly visit during the remaining months also bestow special merits."¹

Srisailam or the Striparvata as has already been pointed out, is mentioned in *Mahabharata*. This epic has been given various dates from 3102 B.C. to 9th century B.C. From the evidence available, it can be said that the temple had its origin in the 3rd millenium before Christ. Striparvata again is a long range of hills in Andhra Pradesh traditionally recognised from ages as a range of mountains appearing as a huge cobra basking in the sun with its hood at Tirumalai, its middle at Ahobilam, and its tail end portion at Srisailam. A study of the *Garbhalaya Lingam* at Srisailam temple shows that the *Linga* is in the middle of a square railing like structure and not the hemispherical Panavattam of later days.

The present structure of the *Garbhalayam* is Western Chalukyan and belong to the 7th century A.D. It is interesting to note that the *Swayambu Linga* has not got the hemispherical *Panavattam* of later days, but a square structure along with a square railing around the *Lingam*. The *Garbhalayam* itself is a square structure with a side of 3.3 mts., on the inner side, whereas the measurements of each side on the outer side is 6.3 mts. This would

show that the walls of the *Garbhalayam* which are made of dressed stone are 1.5 mts. in width, which is rather unique. Similarly, the square railing around the *Swayambu Lingam* itself has a side of 1.135 mts. and has a height of 5½ cms. The inner square Panavattam inside the square railing has a square of 70 cms. with a curvate structure at one end to drain off the Abhishekam waters. The square railing the square *Panavattam* and the square *Garbhalayam* itself is a proof of ancient Brahmanical structure belonging atleast to the 3rd century B.C. in this area. The evidence recorded is unique as similar ancient Siva temples in the Srisailam area have all square or rectangular temples and are attributable to the Satavahanas.

There is no doubt whatsoever that this Siva shrine is an ancient shrine with an original square railing including square Panavattam belonging to the pre-Christian days. Sri R. Subramanyam in a paper entitled "Brahmanical Structures at Nagarjunakonda"² has pointed out the existence of early Siva temple structural remains in brick at Kudali Sangameswaram, Veerapuram and Siddheswaram and has stated that the Andhra Satavahanas inaugurated the first structural shrines and installed Lingas in them in Andhra Pradesh. A study by me of the brick temples at Veerapuram in Kurnool district confirm that the early Siva temples in this region were square in shape. Sri I.K. Sarma³ also contributes to the view that the Satavahanas were the first indigeneous rulers to revive Vedic religion and brahmanical worship in the Deccan. The Srisailam temple, which is the most important Saivite shrine in this area also is an ancient temple which must have existed during the pre-christian period of Satavahanas, if not earlier. It is relevant to note in this connection that an inscription dating to the 19th year of King Sri Pulamavi Vasatiputra in a cave in Nasik mentions Srisailam as Srithana which can be read as Srasthan or Srisailam. Perhaps this area was well known during the period of Gautama Bala Sri, the Satavahana queen who is referred to in the inscription.

Traditional Account in the Kaifiyata

It is also noteworthy to examine the traditional accounts mentioned in the *Srisailam Karifiyat* regarding the Srisaila Mallikarjuna temple. The traditional version is as follows:

"The Chandra Gupta line of kings, descendents from the Moon erected the city of Chandragupti near Brahmagiri and were residing here. The Queen did not have progeny and performed the 'Gowrivratham' worshipping Bhramarambika. An 'amsa' of the Mother as daughter was then born to her. Maharaja Chandra Gupta who was then away in campaigns to conquer new lands returned home after a lapse of fourteen years; seeing a girl in the city who was endowed with beauty and all auspicious traits, and ignorant that she was his daughter, Chandragupta desired her, touched her and caught the tail-end of her saree even as she retreated behind her mother for protec-

tion. The queen expostulated with the king that the girl was his daughter, and not one to be desired. The girl regretted this unhappy event, cut off the ends of her saree (caught by the king) bathed in the river Krishna, crossed the river and departed for Rudra Parvatha where she halted. She was followed even here by her father; furious, she cursed him there to turn into a Green boulder. The King's city was also cursed by her to become depopulated. The virgin then commenced *tapas* on the 'Rudra Parvata' for the grace of Lord Siva. After years of penance, she obtained the grace of Esvara who then asked her "Why have you performed *tapas* with such great strain? what boons shall I confer on thee?" She then praised the Lord with several *sthothrums* and said "Swamy Grant me union with thee. I have performed thy *japa* holding the 'Mallika' and Arjuna flowers, in my cupped hands; therefore may the garlands of these flowers (always) decorate thy head and may these flowers form part of thy first name" ⁴ The Lord granted her wishes and henceforth became Lord Mallikarjuna. Chandravati was also united with Lord Mallikarjuna.

The traditional version refers to the Chandragupta line of kings erecting Chandragupti city near Brahmagiri.⁵ There is a case for excavations in the city to obtain additional information on the history of this area. It is, however, possible that the Maharaja Chandragupta referred to here is either the famous Chandragupta of the Mauryan Empire or more probably a descendant of his in the fourth and third centuries before Christ. Traditional Jaina accounts current in India also confirm that there was movement from the North of Chandragupta and his successors.

It would appear from the traditional accounts of the Jains that there was a terrible famine in the region of Magadha during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya as predicted by Bhadrabahu. A portion of the Jaina community is said to have migrated to southern India at this time. It is possible that some one from the royal family accompanied them and later established a small principality in Srisailam region. This hypothesis would account for the mention of a successor of Chandragupta as the ruler of Srisailam region referred to in the *Srisailam Temple Kaifiyat*.

At any rate, based on the traditional version, and also the mention of this hill in the epic *Mahabharata*, one can draw the conclusion that the temple must have existed atleast 3 or 4 centuries before Christ positively. The excavation in the sanctum sanctorum to study the square structure around the Linga would throw more light on the early history of the temple, but this obviously is not a practical proposition in view of the sanctity attached to the temple and the objections that would be raised for excavation in the temple.

We are, however, on safer grounds where inscriptions are available. The statement facing this page gives the gift of important inscriptions of Srisailam.

Inscriptions of Srisaïlam—An Analysis

S. No. 1	Year and particulars Saka Date 2	King or Donor's name 3	Brief contents of Inscription 4	Benefit to Srisaïlam 5
I.	980 Vilambi, Pushya su. 5 Monday 22-12-1058 A.D.	Trailokya Malladeva Chalukya Emperor	Gift of village at request of Queen Maila Devi-Sivapura and Jayamaturu to Suresvara Pandita and Devasakti- pandita	For a <i>Satra</i> and maintenance of a School attached to the temple
II.	991 Suamya. Ashada, Amavasya, Tuesday (21-7-1069 A.D.)	Bhuvanaikamalladeva Chalukya Emperor	Gift of a village of Padikareya by Bhuvanaikamalladeva at the request of Senior Queen Kanchalamahadevi	For <i>satra</i> and students in school attached to temple at Sivapura.
III.	Chalukya Vikrama 33 Sarvajit Phalguna Su.5. Wednesday (19-2-1108 A.D.)	Chalukyan period	Gift of land to masons Bammoja and his son Sivoja	Repairing of Srisaïlam temple (<i>Jeernoddhar</i> <i>tham</i>)
IV.	S. 1234 Paridhavi Phalguna Su. 5, Thursday (1312 A.D.)	Kakatiya Pratapa Maharaja	Gift of villages for Kallu matham by Sirman maha Pradhani (Minister) Vepeti Kamayya)	For <i>Madhyanna Avasara</i> ! of Sri Mallikarjuna Devara
V.	Saka 1235 Pramadicha Chaitra Su. 1 Monday 26-2-1313)	Kakatiya Pratapa- Rudra Maharaja	Gift of Villages for Arasu matha by Isvara Sivacharya of Arasu math and the Aradhya Peggadas	For the <i>anga</i> and <i>ranga</i> <i>bhogas</i> of the god and the <i>satras</i> (feeding houses)
VI.	Saka 1299 Pingala Magha Suddha Budhavara (Wednesday) 7th January, A.D. 1378 (7-1-1378 A.D.) R	Jaganobba ganda Annaverma for the merit of Annayya Reddy (Reddy kings of Kondavidu)	The construction of <i>mantapa</i> was carried on by Mallanna, son of Pamchabiksham Ramana, a devotee of Siva (mentions Ahobila temple also)	Construction of <i>Vira</i> <i>mantapa</i> in the courtyard of the temple of Mallikarjunasvami on the Sri Parvata.

1	2	3	4	5
VII.	Saka 1326 Margaba. Chaturdasi (1-12-1404 A.D.)	Harihara Maharayani Garu (Vijayanagara) Harihara II (1379-1399)	The erection and presentation of Mukhamandapa by Harikhara Maharayani garu	Construction of <i>mukha- mandapa</i> to Sri Malli- karjuna Deva
VIII.	Undated	Harihara II (178-1399)	Installation of a Linga by Ananta <i>mantri</i>	A linga of Sriparvata Srisailam
IX.	Saka 1316 Srimukha A.D. 1393-94	Harihara II, queen Vittalamba the Kadamba princess	Constructcion of steps to the Patala ganga under the orders of the God Mallikarjuna in a dream	Construction of steps to Patala Gnaga
X.	Saka 1322 Adhika Chaitra ba. 5mangalavaram? (Vikramanama)solar eclipse Friday 26-3-1400 A.D.	Veera Devaraya Odaya son of Harihara	Incomplete	
XI.	Saka 1327 Parthiva chaitra ba. Dasami Budhavaram 25-3-1405 A.D.	Katama reddy Vemareddy	Construction of steps to the well of the Sikhareswara temple	Constructuion of steps to the well in the Sikhare- swara temple
XII.	Saka 1370 Vibhava Ashada u. 15 Bha- nuvara (Sunday not Monday) 16-6-1448 A.D. Vritti	Ayyavali Community under the orders of Mukti Santa Bhiksha	Gift of incomes on certain items on the occasion of Maha Sivaratri	Income to the god Malli- karjuna of Sriparvata by way of fee on commodities heads loads etc., agreed to Gifts to God Mallikarjuna

1	2	3	4	5
XIII.	Saka 1382 Vikrama, Ashada su. 15. Gurusvaram Soma grahana (Thursday) 3-7-1460 A.D. Lunar eclipse	Gajapati king Kapileswara	Gifts mentioned	
XIV.	Saka 1435 Prajapati Magha ba. Chaturthi 13-2-1514 A.D.	Kemideva Lingayya	Pratishta of a linga of construction of eastern and southern prakara walls	References are to Srigiri Temple and its <i>prakara</i> walls
XV.	Saka 1438 Yuva, Sravana su, 15 Budhavarā Chandra grahan Wednesday 25-7-1515 A.D. lunar eclipse	Vijayanagar Krishna deva Maharaya	Gift of villages named Parumanchala and Alukuru	For the midday offerings of the God Mallikarjuna:—god of the Tiruvidhi sila manthapam erected for lord Sri Mallikarjuna.
XVI.	Saka 1451 Virodhi, Kartika su. 15 Adivaram (Virodhi corresponds to Saka 1452) 17-10-1520 A.D. Lunar eclipse	Krishnadevaraya	Granting of village Gadirajupeta in the Siddhapuram-sima	The offerings to God Sri Mallikarjuna: also to Vee-ranna Odaya of Basava matham
XVII.	Saka 1451 (1529 A.D.)	—	Gift of village Chagala marri area	—
XVIII.	Saka 1452 Vikrita Chaitra 30, Amavasya (Tuesday) 20-3-1530) Solar Eclipse	Krishnadevaraya	Gift of a village Sivapuram in the Musalimadhgu sima	Towards amritapadi offerings to God Sri Giripathi. Besides the construction of <i>mantapa</i> . Installation of Images of Chandesvara, and Bhringisvaradeva etc., mentioned.

1	2	3	4	5
XIX.	Saka 1452 Vikriti, Pushya Ba. Ekadasi Vada vara, Saturday (14-1-1531)	King Achyutaraya	Gift of certain items	
XX.	Saka 1496 Bhava. Viasakha a. 30 Somavaram (Saka date wrongly shown a 41995) Thursday 20-5-1574	Rama rajayya son of Tirumalara- jayya deva	Repairs to a stream adjoining the western wall of the prakara	Of the Temple Mallikarjunadeva
XXI.	Saka 1512. Vikriti, Magha su 4. 3, (Sunday) 17-1-1591	Piriya rajayya	Gift of a Bell	To the God Mallikarjuna

Inscriptions

It is seen that there is an early inscription referring to the temple in Saka year 980 (corresponding to 22-12-1058) which refers to Chalukyan emperor Trilokya Malladeva who is said to have visited Sivapura with his senior queen Mailadevi and gifted the village of Sivapura and its hamlet to Sureswara Pandita and Devasakti Pandita for running a *satra* and also for maintenance of a school attached to the temple. Another inscription of the same Chalukyan emperor is of the year Salivahana Saka 991 (corresponding to 21-7-1069); this time the Chalukyan emperor at the request of his senior queen Kamchala Mahadevi gifted the village of Padikareyepa for running a *satra* and a school.

There is one more inscription in the 33rd year of Chalukya Vikramasaka which refers to gifts of land to masons Bammoja and his son Sivoja.

The association of the Kakatiyan kings with the temple deserves attention. There are two inscriptions referring to Kakatiya Pratapa Maharaya in the Saka years 1234-1235 (1312 and 1313 A.D.). Gifts of villages are mentioned along with offerings to the Lord including items such as wheat, ghee, oil, curds, sugar candy, Holee, sweet-poories, *asafiteda*, pepper, salt, sandalwood paste, *kasturi*, areka nuts, betel leaves, camphor and *guggilam*. The gift of villages was to meet the mid-afternoon needs of Sri Mallikarjunadeva made by Vepeti Kamayya *garu*, Maha Pradhani of Sriman Maha Mandaleswara Kakatiya Pratapa Maharaj. The second inscription gives a long list of villages. This inscription mentions of an assembly of all the Maheswaras in the *mukha-mandapa* of the temple, that they discussed the business of Lord Mallikarjuna, and that Eswara Siva Acharya and the other *aradhya preggadas* gave an undertaking that they would satisfactorily carry on the charities made by the devotees of the temple such as Chakravarthies, Mandaleswaras, Rajas, Nayankas etc., for the *angaranga bhogas* of the Lord.

An inscription dates Saka 1299 (7-1-1378) is important in that it mentions that one Jagannobbaganda Anna Vema constructed a *Veera mandapa* in the temple of Mallikarjuna Swamy and for the merit of Annaya Reddy. The *birudavali* of Reddy kings of Kondaveedu are mentioned here. This perhaps is the only important early inscription which records the association of the Reddy kings of Kondaveedu with Srisailam temple.

There is an important inscription referring to Harihara Maharaya II in the Saka year 1326 (1-12-1404 A.D.), which mentions the erection and presentation of a *Mukha mandapa* by Harihara Raya to Lord Mallikarjuna. It is interesting to note that the same king is mentioned in the *Ahobilam Kaifiyat* as having constructed the *Mukha mandapa* at upper Ahobilam though no such inscription has been found. There is another undated inscription of the same king which mentions about the installation of a Linga by Ananta Mantri.

One more inscription in the saka year 1316 (A.D. 1393-94) informs us that a Kadamba, princess Vithalamba, a queen of Harihara II of Vijayanagar constructed the steps to Patala Ganga.

A very important inscription of the Kondaveedu Reddi pertains to Saka 1327 (25-3-1405). This inscription states that one Katama Reddy Vema Reddy caused the steps to be built to the wall of the Sikhareswara temple, and that this was done for the merit of Kumaragiri Reddy and his Ammagarlu. The titles of Reddy kings of Kondaveedu are appelled to Kumaragiri Reddy. An inscription dated Salivahana Saka 1370 (16-6-1448) mentions Mukti Santa Bhiksha Vritti, the Jangam *guru* (who is also mentioned in the *Srisailam Kai-fiyat* along with his successors); it would appear that there was an assembly of the merchants and others from 56 countries such as Kanchi, Kataka, Kalyana, Kosala, Seema etc., during the Mahasivaratri festival. Their object seems to have been the gifting of incomes in addition to what was already gifted by them. The reference obviously seems to be for payment of fees by trader on various commodities mentioned in the inscription such as silk sarees, pepper etc.

An inscription dated Salivahana Saka 1382 (3-7-1460) refers to some gifts made by the Gajapathis of Orissa. It is interesting to note in the *Swasthi*, that the Lord of Srisailam is described as "*Sri Parvata Sri Swayambha Srilinga Chakravarthi, Sriman Mallikarjuna Sriman Mahadevuni ki Swasthi*". There is an inscription in Saka 1433 year (1512 A.D.) which records the greatness of Lingiah, son of Santhiah. It would appear that this Lingiah son of Santhiah constructed the eastern and southern *Prakaras* of the temple and gold plated some of the *Mandapas*. What weight is to be given to this inscription in view of mix up with legendary accounts of *Chandravathi* is a point for consideration by historians.

There is another inscription referring to Saka 1435 roughly corresponding to 1513 A.D. which mentions of the gilding of the *Churu* around the *mukha-mandapa* of Sri Mallikarjunadeva by Kemideva Lingiah *gaaru*. This refers to the *Prathista* of Linga and also the new construction of eastern and southern *prakara* walls of Srigiri temples.

There is an important inscription of Sri Krishnadevaraya in Salivahana Saka 1438 (25-7-1515) which refers to Krishnadevaraya's visit to Srisailam on 15-4-1513. Sri Krishnadevaraya got the Tiruveedhi *silā mandapams* erected and made *Mahanaivedya* offerings by endowing villages of Parumanchala and Alukuru for the Lord.

There is another inscription in Salivahana Saka 1452 (19-3-1530) of the solar eclipse day which mentions that one Avasaram Chandrasekharayya, (Nayankara of Srisila Rajyam given to him by Krishnadevaraya) constructed a *silā* or stone *mandapa* in Srigiri: Chandeeswara and Bhringiswara images were

gilded. He also set up stone images of himself, his father-in-law Damarasayya and Krishnadevaraya. Other gifts are also mentioned.

There is one more inscription in Salivahana Saka 1512 (17-1-1591) which mentions that one Piriya Rajayya gifted a bell to Sri Mallikarjuna.

There is an interesting inscription referring to Lingaiah son of Santaiah dated 15-12 which informs that Linga took pride in cutting off heads of Swetambara Jainas! Obviously this was the period of the Veera Saiva cult when the Veera Saivites started proselytising people into their cult. This inscription incidentally also confirms that Jainism continued to linger on in Srisailem region even during the 16th century.

Inscriptions and Kaifiyat

The *Srisailem Temple Kaifiyat* gives additional historical facts and continues the history of the temple up to the beginning of the 19th century. The *Kaifiyat* also mentions certain inscriptions giving new material pointing out the need for the re-discovery of some of the temple inscriptions. It is, therefore, desirable that the Epigraphical Department of the Archaeology studies the Srisailem Temple *Kaifiyat* and makes efforts to copy and study the new inscriptions referred to in the *Srisailem Temple Kaifiyat*. A case in point is the inscription said to be on a *dhwaja sthamba* covered by copper plates in the southern area of the Lord Mallikarjuna temple. The *Kaifiyat*-writer refers to the date 1378 Salivahana saka-Sivaratri dhata year and mentions that one Saluva Tirumaladeva Maharaj son of Dakshanabhoomi Chola Mandala Gopaiahdeva Maharaj established the golden *dhwaja stamba* here. Similarly while the inscriptions known today inform us that one Khemideva constructed the *prakaras* of the temple, the *Srisailem Temple Kaifiyat* mentions that one Koti Chinnasetti set up a Sadasiva Linga in the north-eastern portion of Mallikarjuna temple, that he arranged for the gilding of the '*ghanta vedika*' of the temple and was responsible for the bas-reliefs on the eastern and southern gopurams and *prakaras*. This Koti Chinnasetti therefore must have been the donor who financed the carving of bas-reliefs on the *prakaras* and also on the eastern and southern *gopurams*. Similarly, gilded copper plates on the Vimanam of the temple mention the name of donors and give new historical material. Thus, it mentions the name of the gold-smith who did the gilding work of the Vimanam-Kondabattudu son of Nandikonda Nagabattudu. Several other names such as (1) Karneyuni Tippinaidu, (2) Basavvayangaru, (3) Parameswarudu, (4) Chennammangaru, (5) Kumara Lingayyagaru (6) Mallayyagaru, (7) Sankaraneyuni Bhimaneyudu, (8) Mallineyudu, (9) Santineyudu, (10) Mugitineyudu, (11) Akkamma, (12) Annamma Virineyudu, and (13) Puttayyagaru, are also mentioned here. Similarly, the *Kaifiyat* mentions that one Chandrasekhara got one Hema Danda i.e. a golden danda made for Lord Sri Mallikarjuna. Until and unless the existence of these new epigraphs are re-discovered confirmed and studied, it would not be desirable to take the

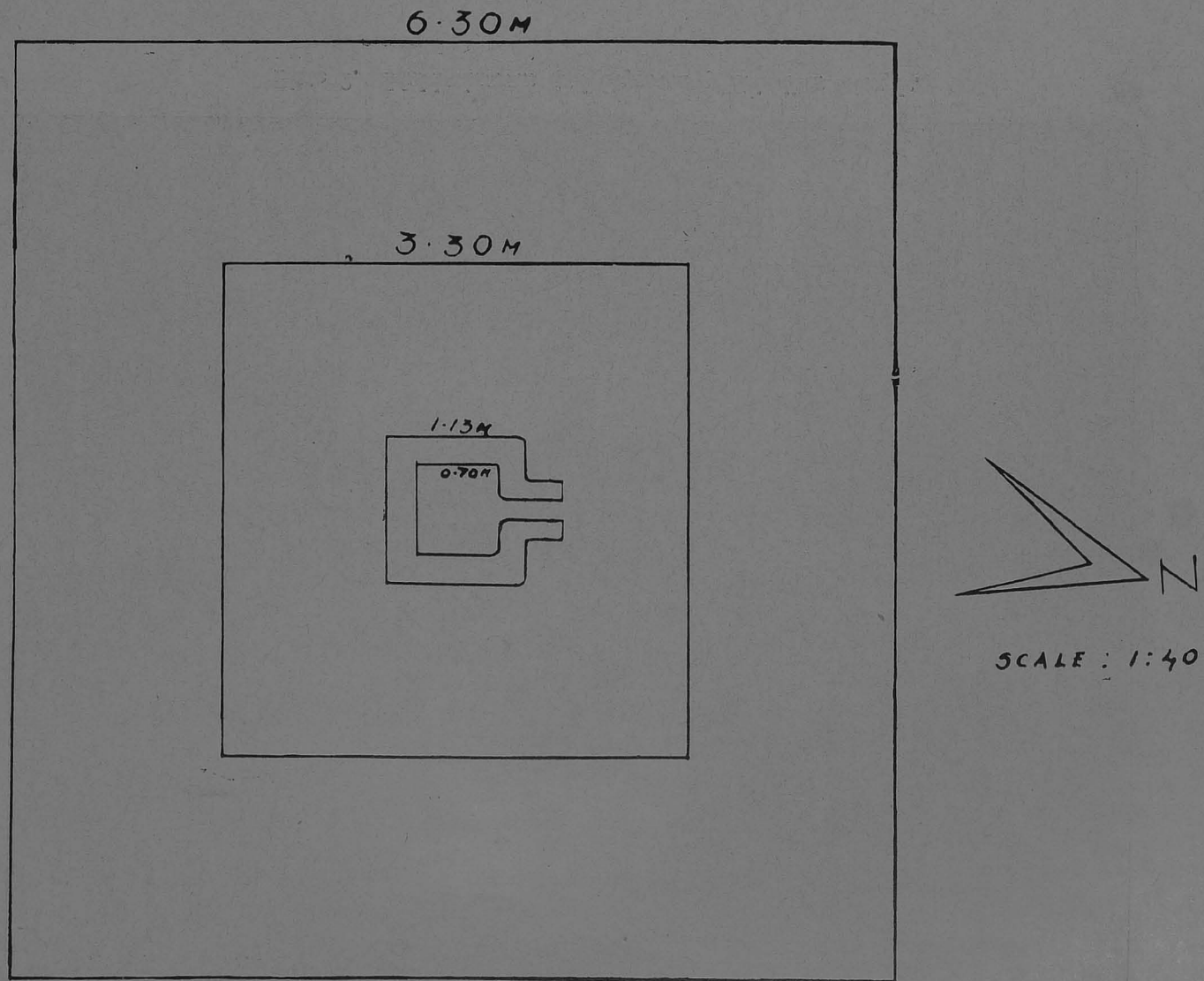


Plate 1. Plan showing the Garbhalaya of Sri Mallikarjuna Swamy Temple, Srisailem.



Plate 2. *Mukhadwaram and Gopuram of Srisailam Temple.*



Plate 3. *General view of the Srisailem Temple.*



Plate 4. *General view of the Main Temple and Mandapas – Sikharam and Gopuram of Sri Bralmarambika Temple*



Plate 5. *Side view of Srisailem Temple and Gopuram*



Plate 6. *Back view of the Sri Mallikarjuna Swamy's Garbhalayam*



Plate 7. *General view of the main Temple.*



Plate 8. *Main door-way of the Garbhalayam*



Plate 9. *Dwarapalaka on the right side in the Srisailem Temple.*



Plate 10. *A front view of Sri Bhramba Temple*



Plate 11. *General view of the Pothalaganga.*

in formation reported in the temple *Kaifiyat* as fully authentic. However, the contemporary accounts adumbrated by the *Kaifiyat* writer can be accepted without reserve.

Other Details in the *Kaifiyat*

The Srisailam *Kaifiyat* also gives interesting additional historical facts. It mentions that in S.S. 1451—manmatha Samvasara Bhadrapada Bahula 13, (1537 A.D.), one Narayya Karyakarta of Sriman Mahamandalesvara Salakoraja Pina Tirumallayya Maharaj Constructed the Yagnasala *mandapam* for the Lord and also erected the gilded *dhvajastam*.

It also appears that one Chikkaiah erected an Iron *deepa khamba* in S.S. 1524 (1602 A.D.) - Subhakrith year Magha Bahula Panchami day.

The surrender of the Kandanaolu fort, the defeat of Gopalaraju and the subsequent history of this area is reported as follows in the *Kaifiyat*:

“Thereafter as several festivals were being performed for Sri Mallikarjuna Swamy in the Salivahana Saka Year 1541 Siddharthi year, one Abdul Mohammad Abdul Wahab and other *Sardars* from Bijapur side surrounded Kandanaolu Fort with their armies. Gopalaraju of Kandanaolu Fort surrendered. Muslims then occupied Kandanaolu fort. Even thereafter Gopalaraju was alive. The Nayankaras were continuing in the Country upto the occupation by the Muslims. In the Salivahana Saka Year 1556-Srimukha Samvatsara Annamaraju son of Saravaraju and grandson of Pabatla Annamaraju belonging to Moudgalyasa gotra erected the golden pillar in western portion of Srisailam and issued an inscription.”

Regarding the festivals, the *Kaifiyat* says:

“The festival days for Lord Mallikarjuna commence in Magha Bahulaand continue for ten days. The Radhotsavam was (formerly) being celebrated. Recently the temple chariot got burnt down in a fire accident. The ‘*Teru*’ (chariot) was not built again. Therefore the Radhotsavam is not being celebrated. In the olden days, the Lord was being ceremoniously taken round the *prakarams* outside the temple. As this was resulting in great expenditure, this was stopped. Now the Lord is being taken around only inside the temple. The festival pilgrims start congregating from Sivaratri and continue upto Chaitrabahula panchami (5th day). On this 5th day of Bahula fortnight of Chaitra month the *kumbam* is set up for mother Bhramarambika in the temple; on that day sheep are sacrificed outside the temple in the western portion. The cooked rice which is heaped in the Kumbam is distributed to Sudras and others. The sheep and buffalos are given to *madigas*. The day after the heaping up of rice (*kumbam*), the pilgrims who congregate here the Government officials, shop-keepers, brahmins and others move down the Parvata and return. Two *pujaris* and one *bairagi* - in all three stay in the temple. No one else stays here.”

"On Sivaratri day, a weaver ties a roll of cloth as a turban-cloth (*Paga*) around the *mandapam* ceiling of the *garbhagudi mukha mandapa* which is covered by copper plates and gilded (having Nandi and other figures). No one knows that a man is tying this roll of cloth as he is not visible. This '*paga*' thereafter becomes the property of the temple."

The information given regarding the Kandनावolu *zamindar* Alapah Khan in *Srisailam Kaifiyat* is note-worthy. The extract of the *Srisailam Temple Kaifiyat* in this connection is given below.

"The Kandनावolu *Zamindar* Alapah Khan has commenced collecting half a rupee even from brahmins from Sukla Pramodita year. As he has started taxing heavily, people are not going over here in large numbers. During festival days on behalf of the Government, there are further collections by *Amins*, a higher official over the *Amins*, and peons who all make the collections on the southern route at Nagaluti. Some more fleecing is made near the temple. Similar collections are made on three other routes. The pilgrims, in additions to the fees paid by them to the '*divanam*', pay further sums to the *chenchus* on the way at Siddapuram, Naguluta and Peddacheruvu; people except brahmins, *byragis*, *gosains* and *jogijangam* pay one '*dudda*' per person and two '*dudds*' each for horses and bullocks. These are taken by the *chenchus*. Similar collections are made on the other three routes also. When people perform abhishekam to the Lord, in addition to the fee paid to the *Divanam*, sixteen '*duddus*' have to be paid to the priests. The *pujaris* appropriate this amount. This year the *Sirkar* men have collected this amount on behalf of this Alapah Khan and given a fourth share to the priests. The *Sirkar* officials collect fees on behalf of others, pay them a small and appropriate the rest. The *Sirkar* pays a sum of thirty rupees per annum for the *naivedyam* and *Deepa aradhanam* (Lighting worship) on non-festival days. Previously the muslim rulers ensured services to the Lord; however, the Alapah Khan of today bears hatred towards Gods, brahmins and poor people and hence services are not conducted properly."

"In the olden days there were several bells in the temple and in the *mandapas*: Alpa Khan has taken them away to Kandनावolu to make them into (cannon) balls. Similarly the vessels in the temple have been taken away by him to make them into cannons. However, when the cannon balls and powder were filled in the cannon, and the cannon fired, the cannon broke!"

"Previously there was no custom of muslims and last castes entering the temple. At present all of them enter the temple. However, they do not enter the sanctum sanctorum. They enter other places."

"There were three shops formerly on festival days. One shop was selling rice and other commodities, while a second shop sold castor oil and the third sandalwood powder. In addition, there was a shop selling bangles. These

chop-keepers are paying a fixed amount to the *Divanam*. The articles which cost one rupee down the hill are sold at three rupees up on the Parvatam. Tolls are thus levied by them on pilgrims bringing up provisions. Previously these tolls were small and pilgrims were congregating in large numbers, and sum of rupees 40,000/- one year and one lakh of rupees another year were collected. As higher tolls are being collected at present, people are not coming here in large numbers. The revenue collections at present this year (1810 A.D.) has amounted to 20,000 rupees."

"The *Sirkar* officials stay on the hill during the festival days; hence *chenchus* also stay on the hill. Ten families reside in huts to the south of the temple during festival days. When the *Sirkar* officials move down the hill, they move down to a distance of three *paruvus* to the south east of the temple. These are known as *Parvata chenchus*. Once in eight or ten days, they come to the temple and carry news back that all is well with the priests in the temple."

In the temple, there is a *jangam* performing worship to Lord Mallikarjuna Swamy. There is a brahmin doing *puja* to Bhramaramba. There is another *bairagi*. These three stay in the temple. *Gosains* and *bairagis* who arrive here spend three nights and go away. Some stay with a view to reside but then leave as they cannot obtain food. Those who stay bringing up food grains, also contract diseases and die.

The *teerthas* in the Swamy's temple are covered with stone *mandapas*; hence the waters do not get sunlight. In addition, the waters are oily with grease floating on the top. The waters of the *kila Bhavi* are the best here; these waters also however are disease-prone. During festival days the waters of other *teerthams* become muddy due to usage by crowds. The *Kila-bhavi* is then locked up and opened. Hence it has got the name of *KILI bhavi*. The waters in the temple are infected resulting in diseases and hence, the danger. The *pujaris* therefore keep on changing every six months. Even these priests suffer from disease. As the temple is one the *Parvata*, it is a sickly place and malaria infested. *Chenchus* are permanent residents of hilly areas and therefore there is not much danger for them."

The law and order conditions in Srisailam temple area during the beginning of the 19th century as well as the accounts of robberies and murders connected with *Chenchus* mentioned in the *Kaifiyat* are interesting.

It is also interesting to note that Col. Mackenzie was the first foreigner who had the *darshan* of the Lord of Srisailam at Srisailam itself. In a paper published by him on the Srisaila Parvata, he mentioned that the priests of those days gave him a vision of the Lord's Lingam of Srisailam by arranging reflecting mirrors and showed him Lord Mallikarjuna Swamy. This was on the 14th or 15th March in the year 1794.

The subsequent history of the Srisailam Temple, the formation of a Trust Board under the Andhra Pradesh, Charitable and Hindu Religious Institutions and Endowment Act of 1966, the renovation of the temple, the *Kumba Abhisheka* of the temple by the Senior Sri Sankaracharya of Kamakoti Peetam and further developmental activities and the temple being run efficiently by the Endowments Department, is too well known to be treated in great detail here.

Illustrations

The temple has several ancient bronzes. These bronzes have been studied by the author and published in the special issue of '*Itihas*' dealing with history, art and architecture of the temples of Andhra Pradesh.

Plate No. 1 ; plan showing the *Garbhalaya* of Sri Mallikarjuna Swamy Temple, Srisailam.

Plate No. 2 ; shows the *Mukhadwaram* and *Gopuram* of Srisailam temple.

Plate No. 3 ; shows a general view of the Srisailam temple.

Plate No. 4 ; shows a general view of the main temple, *mandapas*, the *sikharam* and also *gopuram* for Sri Brahmarambika temple.

Plate No. 5 ; shows a side view of the Srisailam temple and the *gopuram* over the sanctum sanctorum.

Plate No. 6 ; shows a back view of the Sri Mallikarjuna Swamy's *Garbhalayam*.

Plate No. 7 ; again shows another general view of the temple showing the Mallika Kundam near the fore-front.

Plate No. 8 ; shows the main door way of the *Garbhalayam*.

Plate No. 9 ; shows the *dwarapalaka* on the right side in the Srisailam temple.

Plate No. 10 ; shows a front view of the Sri Brahmarambika temple before renovation. The plate also shows an old and rare painting of Brahmarambika presenting the famous Bhavani sword to Chatrapati Shivaji.

Plate No. 11 ; shows a general view of the Patala-Ganga Krishna river at the base of Srisailam Temple.

References & Notes

1. P. Sitapati: *Srisailam Temple Kaifiyat* in Andhra Pradesh Vol. I. Published by Directorate of Archeology, 1981.
2. *Itihas* Vol. VIII, No. 1. 1980
3. *Ibid*
4. P. Sitapati: *Srisailam Kaifiyat in Andhra Pradesh*. Department of Archaeology, 1981.

Acknowledgement

The author acknowledges with thanks the assistance of his daughter Chi P. Vani Sitapati is the study of the inscriptions of Srisailam.

The Salankayanas of Andhra Country

V. Sundara Rama Sastry

The Salankayanas were one of the dynasties that succeeded the Satavahanas in early Andhra history. They ruled over the region of Vengi, for about a century and quarter, in fourth and fifth centuries A.D. The city of Vengi emerged as the seat of powerful empires from their times and commanded the prestige for about seven hundred years to come. Their rule partly synchronises with that of the Imperial Guptas of the north. As such it may be supposed that they had ushered in the classical age in early history of Andhra country, even though, the term is more faithfully applicable to the age of the Visnukundins, who followed them in power. The characteristics of the Classical Age, like the rejuvenescence of the Brahmanism and the reinfund of Sanskrit and Sanskrit learning gradually progressed in Andhra country during the Salankayana age, till they reached their culmination in the Visnukundin period.

The history of the Salankayanas like that of most other dynastic histories, remain a ground for keen controversies and many conjectures. It has not yet been thoroughly studied and some of the problems in it, like the origin of their rule, their relations with the contemporary dynasties and their contribution to the culture of the country, remain yet to be settled. It is mostly due to the insufficiency and indefinite source material. Even though the settlement of the problems is by no means precisely possible at the present state of knowledge, an attempt is made in these pages in that direction. A study of their history, with reference to the histories of their neighbouring contemporary dynasties would enable us to understand some what a true course of their fortunes.

Nine copper plate grants¹ and a recently discovered stone inscription from Guntupalli² form the source material for the Salankayana History. Of them, four copper plate inscriptions are in prakrit³ and the remaining are in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit inscriptions were issued only by the two later members of the dynasty, viz Nandivarman II and Skandavarman⁴. Of all the records of the dynasty, the Kanukollu (Skt) plates of Skandavarman and the Pedavegi plates as well as the Guntupalli stone inscription of Nandivarman II, give the family genealogy for four generations. All other records give only the name of the donor, the only exception being the Kolleru plates of Nandivarman. It gives the father's name of the donor as well.

The genealogical information from the above said records may be tabulated in the following manner.

The Pedavegi copper plate and the Guntupalli stone inscriptions of Nandivarman II.

The Kanukollu (Skt.) plates of Skandavarman.

Hastivarman
Nandivarman I
(A) candavarman ⁵
Nandivarman II
(the donor)

Hastivarman I
Nandivarman
Hastivarman II
Skandavarman
(the donor)

The two lists of kings agree with each other, so far as the first two kings are concerned. It may thus be supposed that Nandivarman I had two sons, viz. Acandavarman and Hastivarman, who may be designated as Hastivarman II. The two later mentioned kings must have founded two different lines, as shown below.

The donors of prakrit plates, except Vijayadevavarman of the Eluru plates can be accommodated in the consolidated table of the Salankayana genealogy and chronology. But assigning proper place to the king remain a subject of controversy⁶ and will be dealt with, in its appropriate place in these pages. However, it can be concluded that his place must be somewhere, after Nandivarman I and not at the top of the genealogical table, as most of the early scholars supposed.

The palaeography of the Salankayana records is one of the bases to determine the chronology of the dynasty, but it is not a surely dependable means. There are some historical synchronisms that can help, in fixing the upper and lower limits of the period of Salankayana rule. The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, refers to Hastivarman as the king of Vengi, at the time of his South Indian expedition.⁷ It may be taken as the upper limit of the Salankayana chronology. The Vesanta grant⁸ of the early Pallava king Simhavarman II (C.A.D. 436-478)⁹ suggests that their suzerainty extended over Andhradesa, perhaps beyond the river Kṛṣṇa.¹⁰ It may be taken as the lower limit of the Salankayana chronology.¹¹ In between the two terminals, some corresponding details in the dynastic histories of the Matharas and the Pitrbhaktas of Kalinga, as well as the early Pallavas of South India, provide some indirect clues to the course of the Salankayana history. In the light of these details and in consideration and the regnal years of the kings, as mentioned in their charters,¹² the chronology of the Salankayanas, may be fixed with a degree of confidence. The consolidated

table of the Salankayana genealogy and chronology, can thus be arranged as given below.

Hastivarman I
C. 340-365. A.D.

Nandirarman I. C 365-405 A.D.

Acandavarman C 405-420 A.D.	Devavarman C 420-438 A.D.	Hastivarman II C 438-439 A.D.
Nandivarman II C 440-455. A.D.		Skandavarman C 439-440. A.D.

Origin of the Dynasty.

The Salankayanas appear to be an ancient people of Andhra country. Prof. Raychaudhuri¹³ identified them with the "Salakenoi", a people referred to be Ptolemy's **Geography** (C. A.D. 140), as the inhabitants of the region of Maisolia. The region is now held identical with the land on either sides of the river Krsna, at its mouth.¹⁴ Panini also seems to refer to the country of the Salankayanas, as "Salankayanaka"¹⁵ but it cannot be identified either with Vengi or Maisolia regions. It must have been somewhere in the North-Western India.¹⁶

Mr. K. V. Lakshmanarao¹⁷ and Prof. R. Subbarao¹³ had drawn a number of similarities between the Salankayanas and the Early Pallavas. The main points of their comparative study may be summed up as follows:

- 1) The Pallavas were of Bharadvaja **gotra**, which was closely related to the Salankayana **gotra**.
- 2) Both the dynasties issued their early charters in prakrit and later on switched over to Sanskrit. The script of the records of both dynasties was the same, the Vengi script as called by epigraphists. The prakrit plates of the two families generally name only the donors but the Sanskrit charters trace the descent of the donor since three generations earlier.
- 3) Names like Skandavarman, Nandivarman etc. were common to both the dynasties.
- 4) The crest-symbol of both of families was the Bull.
- 5) Both the dynasties ruled contiguous regions and their administrative systems were alike.
- 6) Both followed the Vedic Brahmanism with Saivite leanings and performed Vedic sacrifices. They had concluded on the basis of this comparative study, that both the families might have friendly and matrimonial alliances.

Some of these points as well as the conclusion, are not backed by strong reason, especially about the usage of prakrit language and Vengi script. It

is of common knowledge, that the two were the legacies of the Satavahanas to all the Deccan and South Indian ruling dynasties, commonly. So also Sanskrit came to be used in the records of all the royal dynasties of the Deccan and South India, from the beginning of the fifth century, due to the resurgence of Hinduism. Such common features between a number of dynasties cannot specify the relation between any two. Moreover, they do not necessarily point out the friendly and matrimonial alliances to have existed between them, but their conflicts, as will be shown below.

None the less, the comparison suggests a common cultural background and a possible original home of the two dynasties, viz. the Pallavas and the Salankayanas. Prof. T.V. Mahalingam¹⁹ in his recent study on the Pallavas of Kanci has come out with a similar conclusion on their origin, based on the same pattern of study.

The classical Sanskrit tradition after panini also refers to the Salankayanas and their tribal republic, situated in Vahlika country.²⁰ The Salankayanas worshipped Sun-god, enshrining him in a temple.²¹ The Sun-worship is no doubt, a Rigvedic practice, but only in the form of his disc. But, His worship in an iconic form, installed in a shrine, was the practice of the Magas, who were of persian origin.²² They settled in the *Sakadvipa* (identical with modern province of Sind), centuries before the Christ. There is no difficulty in taking the Salankayanas of Vahlikadesa to have had contact with the Magas of Sakadvipa, and to have been influenced by them. Hence, the Salankayanas (so also the pallavas, along with them²³) may be the inhabitants of North-Western India, before they came down to settle in South India. Thus, the Salankayanas appear to be a foreign people that came to India, along with the Sakas and Pahlavas, Indianised in course of time, gradually came down to the country around the mouth of the river Krishna in Andhra country. However, their southern march must have been quite earlier than Ptolemy's writing of Geography. Some scholars supposed²⁴ that they might have been installed in Andhra country, by the Satavahanas, as their feudatories and frontier guards. There is no forcing evidence either to accept or to reject the suggestion.

The Salankayana gotra, to which the kings belonged, is met with only in the later records of the family.²⁵ It suggests that their claim to the lineage was after their Brahmanisation from their low social status, because of their foreign origin. Most reasonably the process of Brahmanisation was backed by the power and prestige, that the kings attained in due course.²⁶ Dr. K. Gopalachari²⁷ held that inspite of their reference to the *gotra*, the kings of the dynasty had no dynastic name;²⁸ and they were probably upstarts without any renowned ancestors, real or eponymous.²⁹

The rise of the Salankayanas to power is another little touched subject. Scholars like Mr. B.V. Krishnarao³⁰ and Dr. D.C. Sircar³¹ opined that the

Salankayanas might have accepted the suzerainty of the later Satavahanas. But, they were uncertain about the Salankayanas, whether accepted the Ikshvaku overlordship³². However, the Salankayanas seem to have remained in feudatory status for quite a long time, after the fall of the Satavahanas.

The Ikshvakus followed the Satavahanas to rule in the Krsna valley and held it under their sway between A.D. 225 to 311.³³ Their suzerainty was accepted by families like the Dhanakas, Pugiyas, Hiranyakas etc. whom the Ikshvaku inscriptions often refer to. However, the Ikshvaku patronage to Buddhism that reached Jaggayyapeta and Ghantasala, reasonably suggests that their suzerainty might have extended well, over the country north of the river Krsna. In that case, the Salankayanas also might have been Ikshvaku feudatories, even though the fact is not testified by the evidence so far available.³⁴

The Pallava paramountcy over Southern Andhra country had replaced the Ikshvaku suzerainty; as signified by the Mancikallu inscription of Simhavarman³⁵ and Mayidavolu plates of Yuvamaharaja Sivaskandavarman³⁶. The appointment of a *vyaprtā* at *Dharmakada* (Dhanyakataka) by the Pallavas, to whom the Mayidavolu plates were addressed,³⁷ indicates that the Pallavas, realms stretched across the river Krsna³⁸. A *vyaprtā* may be supposed to have been located at the centre of the province. Thus, the Salankayanas must have accepted the Pallava suzerainty, under Sivaskandavarman. The similarities between the two dynasties as referred to above, may also support the view that, the Salankayanas were feudatories of the Pallavas for some time.

About the middle of the fourth century A.D. the Pallavas had to meet the Kadamba revolt, under Mayurasarman³⁹. The Pallava overlordship on the event was shaken to the root and resulted in the loss of their western dominions to the Kadambas. Perhaps, the occasion provided the Salankayanas too, with an opportunity to revolt. The Salankayanas under Hastivarman I must have rose up to assert independence.

B. Political History

Most of the scholars, who hitherto worked on the Salankayana history supposed that Vijayadevavarman of the Eluru plates was the founder of the dynasty⁴⁰. It is mostly because, he cannot be accommodated anywhere in the genealogy, with a degree of certainty. Some scholars argue in favour of this arrangement, that founders of new lines of kings, often celebrate horse-sacrifices⁴¹. But the generalisation seems to rest on a very doubtful ground and except Puyamitra Sunga and the Ikshvaku king Camtamula I, such generalisation could not be substantiated. On the other hand, in the light of the fact, that both Skandavarman and Nandivarman II of the dynasty traced their descent from Hastivarman I, shows that he was the founder of the dynasty and also its greatness.

Hastivarman (C. 340—365 A.D.)

Hastivarman I was described as a Maharaja and a great warrior, who won victories on numerous battle-fronts.⁴² The description as Maharaja is perhaps, significant of his foundation of the independence from the Pallava overlordship, after his successful revolt. The attribution of the title, *Dharma-Maharaja*⁴³ to the king may also suggest his victories over the Pallavas⁴⁴ It was no doubt a point of his greatness.

Next, Hastivarman seems to have defeated the Brhatphalayana king Jayavarman⁴⁵ who came into clash with him, for annexing kudur-ahara⁴⁶. The region might be corresponding to the Bandar, Gudivada and Kaikaluru taluks of the Krishna district of today. He might be another Pallava feudatory, and proclaimed independence about the same time as Hastivarman I. Thus, a conflict for supremacy and mutual elimination may not be impossible⁴⁷. Several Salankayana charters speak the Kudur-ahara as to have formed a part of their kingdom⁴⁸. It will be shown below, that the region was a bone of contention between the Salankayanas on the one hand and the dynasties like the Anandagotras and the Pallavas, who ruled the country, south of the river Krisna.

In this connection mention may be made of Mantaraja of Kaurala. The Allahabad *prasasti* refers to him among the South Indian rulers, that were defeated by Samudragupta⁴⁹. Kaurala is identified with Kolleru lake, or the region around it. But, the suggestion is doubtful as it appears unlikely that two kings were ruling one at Vengi and the other at Kolleru, which are at a distance not more than a few miles. However, other suggestions of identifying Kaurala⁵⁰ are not as much reasonable, at least, as the above cited suggestion. In such a case, the presence of Mantaraja close in the vicinity of Vengi should have presented Hastivarman, a bitter contest for security as well as for supremacy. Hastivarman I must have fought with him, before the two were overpowered by Samudragupta about A.D. 350.

Prof. G.J.Dubreuil⁵¹ and following him Mr. B.V.Krishnarao⁵² supposed that the Pallavas and Salankayanas, with all their feudatories made a bold bid to face Samudragupta, when he marched over South India. They further conjectured that the Gupta monarch "abandoned the idea of conquest and retreated to his kingdom, making peace with, and leaving the great kingdoms of the south," out of fear that his own armies might be "routed or destroyed." The statements cannot be ascertained by any means that the south Indian kingdoms were more powerful than the Gupta kingdom. Hence, "this is pure imagination and directly contradicting the explicit statements in the Allahabad inscription."⁵³

The recently discovered stone inscription from Guntupalli describes the king⁵⁴ as to have build a number of *Visnugrhas*, or temples of Visnu and

Caturvaidyasalas, or houses for the study of four Vedas. One the basis of these epithets and another that reads: *Muharaja sadrsa vana visargasya*⁵⁵ Mr. I.K. Sarma⁵⁶ tries to project again the opinion of the two above mentioned scholars that Samudragupta was defeated by Hastivarman I, but the Gupta king boasted it as his own victory. But these vague statements mostly speak of his contribution to the religion and culture and cannot suggest the Salankayana victory against the Gupta king. Moreover, the statement of the stone inscription was the time of Nandivarman II, after much lapse of time from the actual incident. It may be an attempt of glorification of the king, by his great-grand son.

Nandivarman (C. 365-405 A.D.)

Nandivarman I, the son and successor of Hastivarman I is known to have ruled at least for forty years, as the Dharikatura grant of his son *Yuva-maharaja* Acandavarman indicates.⁵⁷

The Kanukollu (Skt.) plates of Skandavarman describe him as "one who had vanquished enemies by his own valour."⁵⁸ It was perhaps to restore the fallen fortunes of the family, consequent of the Gupta invasion. The Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II describe him as "a bounteous given of a variety of gifts."⁵⁹ The Guntupalli stone inscription more clearly reports that he was a giver of many *gosahasras*.⁶⁰ A similar title was borne by Attivarman, the Anandagotra king⁶¹ He was perhaps, a contemporay Nandivarman I and title may possible indicate some warfare for supremacy between the two kings. In other words, a hostile relation with the Anandagotras might have prompted the Salankayana king to give the said gift, and thus claim the epithet. However, his own Kanukollu (pt.) plate describes neither his warlike qualities nor his unbounded generosity.

Acandavarman (C. 405-420 A.D.)

Nandivarman I is known to have had two sons, Hastivarman II and Acandavarman, as per the collated information of the Kanukollu (skt.) and the Pedavegi Plates. Vijayadevavarman of the Eluru plates was perhaps, another son of Nandivarman I. Acandavarman might be the eldest son of Nandivarman I. Acandavarman might be the eldest son of Nandivarman I, as he acted as *Yuvamaharaja*, probably during the life time of his father. He could have succeeded his father to the throne, as Maharaja. He could have possibly ruled not more than fifteen years, in view of the long reign of his father.

The succession to throne after Nandivarman I was apparently, disturbed and was also disorderly. His sons ascended the throne, one after another, and were followed by a civil war⁶². The civil war was partly due to the disorderly successions after Nandivarman I.

The reign of Acandavarman cannot be detailed for want of material. However, a few probable conjectures may be made in the light of information provided by the records of the contemporary dynasties. The records of his son Nandivarman II describe him as, "*Pratap-opanata samantasya*"⁶³ and also *Candadanda*⁶⁴. These titles suggest that he subdued many vassal chiefs, perhaps that rose in the wake of the discomfiture in the hands of the Guptas. The later title perhaps, points out that he was a very powerful king.

The contemporary kings of Kalinga were the Matharas, who claimed lordship over the entire Kalinga country, as extended upto the river Krishna in the south⁶⁵. This description was accredited to Saktivarman in the Ningondi grant of Prabhanjanavarman⁶⁶. It points out that Saktivarman attempted to subjugate the Salankayana kings and must have undertaken an expedition on them. He was the donor of the Ragolu plates issued from Pistapura, perhaps in the course of his southern march⁶⁷. Acandavarman who was perhaps, ruling at Vengi must have offered the Mathara king a stiff resistance. It may not be unreasonable to suppose that the Salankayanas must have been defeated in the first run, as the description of the Mathara king may suggest. But, finally, they could have succeeded in expelling the Matharas from the Vengi country.

Another contemporary of Acandavarman was perhaps, the Pitr bhakta king Umavarman of the Tekkali plates⁶⁸. Another Pitrbhakta king bears the name Acandavarman, who issued the Bobbili⁶⁹ and Komarti⁷⁰ copper plate grants. The relation between the two kings is not known, but there is reason to believe that the former was the father of the later. The former king had no title as *Kaling-adhipati*, which the latter had⁷¹. Thus, it may be suggested that Acandavarman, the Salankayana king could not only expel the Mathara king Saktivarman, but also could have intruded into the later's dominion. He seems to have arranged an alliance with a powerful vassal family of the Matharas, viz. the Pitrbhakta, and raised them to be rivals to the former. The Salankayana ally in the later dynasty might be Umavarman and he might have named his son as Acandavarman, in token of the alliance. Matrimonial relations to cement the alliance might also have taken place between the two houses, but it cannot be definitely asserted in the absence required information.

Vijayadevavarman (C. 420—438 A.D.)

Vijayadevavarman might have succeeded Acandavarman, on the throne of Vengi, perhaps the latter's son being a minor. He might have been a great conqueror as the horse-sacrifice, he had performed and the honorific *Vijaya* borne by him suggest. He was mentioned nowhere in the records of his successors, and it suggests that his accession to the throne was out of the way, and himself was not succeeded by any of his own son. His Eluru plates were

dated in his thirteenth regnal year,⁷² thus, the king may be allowed a reign for fifteen years.

The reign of Devavarman was coincidental to that of Vijayaskandavarman (C. 400-436 A.D.) of the Early Pallava dynasty⁷³. He was also a great conqueror and probably endeavoured to reassert the power and prestige of the house, that had fallen after Sivaskandavarman. He issued his Omgodu (set I) from Vijaya Tambrapasthana,⁷⁴ which is identified with the village of Cebrolu in Guntur district. The record was issued in the 33rd year of his reign, to register a gift made by the king in Karmarastar.⁷⁵ Thus, about the year A.D. 433, the Pallavas could reconquer Southern Andhra country and thus the Anandagotra rule came to an end. Following his victory in Karmarastra, Vijayaskandavarman might have bid to extend the Pallava suzerainty across the river Krishna. If not, the Pallava expansion upto the river might have alarmed Vijayadevavarman. The latter's performance of *Asvamedha*, might be in proclamation of this victory, against the Pallava king⁷⁶. Further, it may be suggested that the Salankayana kingdom, for a while expanded south of the river Krishna, as a result of the victory scored by Vijayadevavarman. Thus, the Kudur-ahara might have been appended to their dominion and it remained a part of it, till the end of their rule⁷⁷.

Hastivarman II (c. 435-437 A.D.)

Hastivarman II seems to have followed Vijayadevavarman to rule the kingdom. His Penugonda plates does not mention him as of Salankayana lineage and the reason cannot be ascertained precisely. His short rule appear to have been badly disturbed and perhaps followed by a civil war.

The Penugonda plates were issued from Vijaya Jayapura,⁷⁸ probably from a military camp, eventhough, it is not mentioned therein. The honorific *Vijaya* suggests that the king was aspiring victory, ostensibly in a battle, being fought at that place⁷⁹. The Andhavaram plates of Anantasaktivarman of the Mathara dynasty, were issued from Vijayapura, where a pitched battle was taking place⁸⁰. The two records, viz. the Penugonda plates of Hastivarman and the Andhavaram plates of Anantasaktivarman might have been issued from one and the same place and also the time. Thus, the two kings appear to have been face to face in a bitter battle at Vijaya Jayapura. The result of the battle seems to have gone in favour of the Mathara king, as he is seen ruling for a longer time, from the date of the record, as suggested by his Madras Museum plates⁸¹. On the other hand, the Salankayana king perhaps, lost his life and a period of confusion set in his realm. This fact is suggested by his own Pengonda plates. The record, notwithstanding the aspirations for victory, also expresses the desire of the king to attain the heaven peacefully⁸². It may not be unreasonable, to suppose that the very life, of the king, not to speak of his victory was at danger.

The Kanukollu (Skt.) plates of his son Skandavarman describe him as a Maharaja "whose fame embraced the waves of the four oceans."⁸³ It does not seem to be more than a customary laudation, with no real significance.

Nandivarman II (c. 440-455 A.D.)

Hastivarman II was perhaps succeeded by his son Skandavarman, who issued the Kanukollu (Skt.) and Kanteru (Set I) plates. But, Nandivarman II the son of Acandavarman seems to have challenged his succession and a civil war to have taken place between them. It must have ended with the overthrow of Skandavarman. The fact is suggested by the points given below:

1) Both the kings traced their descent, in their respective records from Hastivarman I, who was the founder of the family, thus, each king must have tried to assert that his own line of succession was legal.

2) They describe Nandivarman I, their grandfather, in their respective records, obviously motivated by their attempt to establish their own claims. The Kanukollu (Skt.) plates describe Nandivarman I as to have subdued enemies by his own valour⁸⁴. Thus, Skandavarman was apparently intent upon overlooking Acandavarman's acting as crown prince and fought the wars on behalf of his father and also his succeeding the later as Maharaja. On the other hand, Nandivarman II described the king as giver of a variety of gifts⁸⁵ and thus suggested him as a mild and benevolent ruler, who cared little for power. On the other hand, Acandavarman was described as "one who valourously subdued feudatories" and also *Candadanda*⁸⁶. The motive of the king in so describing his father and grandfather must be to show that, the former was the *defacto* ruler during the reign of the later and succeeded him on the throne.

3) The reign of Skandavarman came to the end, ostensibly, before the end of an year. The two records issued by the king, discovered so far, are dated in his first regnal year only⁸⁷. Obviously, his rule came to an end abruptly, probably because of the civil war, that must have ended in favour of his cousin, Nandivarman.

The reign of Nandivarman II was the last flicker of the Salankayana power. The family was badly weakened by the wars within and without. However, he seems to have attempted at the revival of the decadent power and prestige of the family. He might have led an expedition into Kalinga in order to help his ally, the Pitrbhakta king, who was in his trials to overthrow the rival house of the Matharas. Nandivarman II could have taken the help of the Pitrbhaktas in the course of the civil war and thus ousted his rival from power. Thus, he must have reciprocated the same, by assisting his Pitrbhakta ally, in his bid to attain the prestigious position of *Kalingadhipati* and to rule from *simhapura*⁸⁸.

The revival of Pallava overlordship on Southern Andhradesa by Vijayaskandavarman and its overthrow by Vijayadevavarman, have been referred to above. The Visnukundin king Govindavarman (c. A. D. 435-475) seems to have taken advantage of the situation, caused by the Pallava-Salankayana wars on the one hand and the civil wars in the Salankayana family, together with thier wars in Kalinga on the other. He might have led expeditions to push his realms south of the river Krsna. He must have conquered the present day Guntur and Prakasam districts, if not further. His Tummalagudem plates register the gift of the village, Penkapara ⁸⁹ by the king to a Buddhist Vihara. The village was mentioned in the Omgodu plates of Simhavarman, ⁹⁰ among the villages bounded the gift village, Omgodu.

The two sets of Omgodu grants of the Pallava kings, thus mark two points of time, when they revived their overlordship on Southern Andhradesa. Between the two points of time, the region passed into the rule of the Salankayanas and the Visnukundins. Vijayaskandavarman's son and successor was Simhavarman V (c. A.D. 436-478), who was perhaps, the greatest of the Early Pallavas. He was a conqueror and an empire-builder. His Vesanta grant registers the gift of the village of Vesanta in Nadattapati-visaya, ⁹¹ and if the region is taken identical with Natripati-visaya of the Visnukundin records. ⁹² It is identified with Nandigama taluka of the Krishna and the corresponding portion in Guntur district, south of the river Krishna. ⁹³ The identification is not very convincing, but it may be supposed that, by his nineteenth regnal year, the Pallava king Simharman II could have conquered southern Andhra country and imposed his overlordship thereon. Simhavarman seems to have appointed his brother Visnugopa as *yuvamaharaja*, in the Southern Andhra country, obviously to accomplish the task. The *Yuvamaharaja* was ostensibly successful in stemming the tide of the Visnukundin expansionism and in pushing up the Pallava overlordship, at least upto the river Krishna in the north, as the Vesanta grant indicates. They could also have possibly made inroads into the Vengi country and proved fatal to the decadent Salankayana power, before it was finally overthrown by the Visnukundins.

Extent of the Salankayana Kingdom

Mr. B.V. Krishnarao ⁹⁴ thought that Vijayadevavarman, whom he supposed to be the founder of the family, to have carved the kingdom, out of the Vakataka dominions and performed the horsesacrifice. He supposed further that the Matharas of Kalinga were forced to shift their capital from Pistapura to Simhapura by the Salankayana expansion, and also believed that the former accepted the later's suzerainty ⁹⁵.

But, the Salankayana charters indicate neither their victories over the Vakatakas nor the Matharas. Their kingdom was apparently confined to the Vengi-mandla and occasionally extended into the Kudur-ahara and Kanu-

ahara⁹⁶. Their realms may thus, be supposed to have been bounded by the rivers Krishna and Godavari in south and north respectively. In the west, the kingdom was perhaps, limited by the Vakataka empire, which might have extended up to the Eastern Ghats. Occassionally, the kingdom recorded extension across the river Krishna in the south, following their victories on the Anandagotras and the Pallavas. Mention may be made here about the Salar kayana-Vakataka relations.

Prof. A.S. Altekar⁹⁷ supposed that the Vakataka empire at one time extended up to the east coast and the Salankayanas might have accepted the formers suzerainty. But, there is not the slightest evidence in the records of either family to support the suggestion. Prof. Mirashi⁹⁸ writes that the Vakataka king Harishena brought about the downfall of the Salankayanas and placed the Visnukundin king Govindavarman on the throne of Vengi. But, it is not possible to accept the suggestion. The Visnukundin occupation of Vengi country makes altogether a different story and has to be treated seperately. For the present it can be asserted that the Pallava invasions on the one hand, and the Visnukundin expansion on the other, brought about the downfall of the Salankayana rule in Vengi country, themselves declined by their internecine warfare.

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Notes and References

1. They are: 1) The Eluru plates of Vijayadevavarman, *Epi. Ind.* IX, pp. 36ff. prof. E. Hultzsch;
- (2) The Kolleru plates of Vijayanandivarman, *Ind. Ant.* V, pp. 175 ff. ed. J. Fleet pp
- (3) The Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman, *Bharati* (Tel) 1924, and *J.A.H.R.S.*, 92 ff. ed. prof. R. Subbarao;
- (4) Two sets of Kanteru plates, *Journal of Telugu Academy*, Vol. XI, pp. 113 ff. ed. Mr. K.V.Lakshmanarao and *Epi. Ind.* XXV, Pt. I, pp. 42-47, ed. Mr. R.S. Panchamukhi;
- (5) Two sets of kanukollu plates, *Epi. Ind.*, XXXI, pt. I, pp. 1-12, ed. Mr B.V.Krishnarao,
- (6) The penugonda plates of Hastivarman, *Epi, Ind.* XXXV, pt, III, pp. 140-150, ed. Dr. D.C. Sircar;
- (7) The Dharikatura plates of Yuvamaharaja Acandavarman, *Epi. Ind.* XXXVI, Pt. I, pp. 1-7, ed. Dr. D.C. Sircar.
2. *Bharati* (Tel.) August, 1978. The record has been brought into light by Sri. I. K. Sarma, but it has not yet been critically edited. It is much damaged ando bliterated. Sri Sarma has given a general note on the record and its text that can be restored as far as possible.

3. The Eluru plates of Vijayadevavarman, the Kanukollu (Pkt.) plates of Nandivarman I, the Penugonda plates of Hastivarman and the Dharikatura Plates of Yuvamaharaja Acandavarman.
4. Nandivarman II issued four inscriptions, viz. the Kolleru, the Pedavegi, the Kanteru (set II) copper plates and the Guntupalli stone inscription. Skandavarman issued the Kanukollu (Skt.) plates and the Kanteru (set I) copper plates.
5. The name of the king was read as Candavarman, by earlier scholars. But, it has been recently corrected by Dr. D.C. Sircar, as Acandavarman, *Epi. Ind.* XXXVI, (op. cit. P. 3)
6. The issue has been discussed in my earlier note on the Salankayana genealogy and chronology, *ITIHAS*, V, No. 1, P.6. But, in the light of my further study of early Andhra history, a few alterations are suggested in these pages.
7. *C.I.I.*, III, No. 1, 11. 19-20.
8. *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6, Ed. Dr. N.Ramesan.
9. For a detailed discussion on the Early Pallava genealogy and chronology, and for the date of the king, see my article, *ITIHAS*, VI, No. 2, pp. 21 ff.
10. *Vide Infra*. The section on Nandivarman II.
11. I had suggested in my earlier note on the genealogy and chronology of the Salankayanas, *ITIHAS*, V, *opp. cit.*, that the Mangadur grant of Simhavarman, of the Andhra branch, of the Pallavas, registering a gift in Vengorastra might have caused the downfall of the Salankayanas. But, my recent studies in the history of the Early Pallavas? *ITIHAS*, VI convinced me that the donor of the Mangadur grant is far removed from the last Salankayana king Nandivarman II. The donor of the Vesanta grant has more eligibility to be considered as to have been responsible for the downfall of the Salankayanas.
12. The Kanukollu (pkt.) plates of Nandivarman I, were dated (1. 38) *Sava 10 4vasa 2diva 1*, (Skt. *Samva 14, varsa 2, diva 1*).
 b) The Dharikatura plates of Yuvamaharaja Acandavarman were dated (1-16-17) *Samvaccharani pacatisa 30 5 vasa pakham Chahamdivasa tetiyam* (Skt. *Samvatsarani pance trimsa Varsapaksa Sastham divasa trtiyayam*.) As the donor was only a Yuvamaharaja, the regnal year mentioned in the record, must be pertaining to the reigning Maharaja, whom, Dr. D.C. Sircar has rightly suggested to be Nandivarman I.
 c) The Eluru plates of Vijayadevavarman were dated (11. 14-15). *Vijaya Samvaccharani Terasa 10 3, pausa Kalapakham dasami 10* (Skt. *Vijaya Samvatsarani Trayodasa pausa kala paksa* (i.e. black fortnight) *Dasami*.) This method of dating in terms of the year divided into months and months into two fortnights, black and white is later in usage, than the dates of the two earlier records, which method is that the year divided into seasons and the seasons into fortnights. This is an important point along with others, to locate the place of the king in the genealogy and chronology (*vide infra*.)
 d) The date of the Penugonda plates is some what obliterated. However, it reads (11. 13-14) as: *dabe savacchara Jetthamasa Kalatthamiya*, which according to Dr. Sircar, is dated in the second year of the donor. Its Sanskritic restoration is *Dve Samvatslara Jyesthamasa Kala-astamyam*. *Kalastami* means the eighth day in the black fortnight.
 e) The Kanukollu Sanskrit plates were dated (11-16-17) as: *Samvatsare Prathame Kartika masa sukla paksa pratipadi*.
 f) The Kanteru plates (set I) of the same king were dated (11- 13-14) as: *Vijaya rajasamvatsare prathame, Vaisakha Purnamasyam*.
 g) The Pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II were dated as (11. 18-19) *Pravardhamana Vijaya rajya Samvatsara dasamasya 10 Sravana masa suklapakasya pratitipadi*.
 h) The Kolleru plates of the same king were dated as (11-9-10) *Vijayarajya Saptama Samvatsarasya Pausyamasa Krsna Paksasya-astamyam*.
13. *Political History of Ancient India* (4th edn.) p. 419, note 1. Dr D.C. Sircar (*Successors*, p. 70); Mr. B.V. Krishnarao (*E.D.A.D.*, p. 346-7) and Dr. M. Rama Rao (*S. E.H.* A. p. 99) accepted the suggestion. But, Dr. K.Gopalachari (*E.H.A.C.*, pp. 169-170) rejected it.

14. Mac Crindle, *Ancient India*, p. 66.
15. Panini, Bk. IV, Ch. I, No. 99 and thier country in Ch. II, no. 53; quoted in *Journal of Telugu Academy*, XI, *P.I.H.C.*, 1950, p. 65, and *Successors*, p. 70.
16. Vide *Infra*.
17. *Journal of Telugu Academy*, XI. *opp. cit.*
18. *J.A.H.R.S.*, I, p. 96.
19. *Kancipuram in Early South Indian History*, pp. 23-24.
20. *P.I.H.C.*, 1950, p. 65, *opp. cit.*
21. Prof. Hultzsch wrote that a mound at Pedavegi, among the ruins of the site, was told to be the temple of Citrarathasvamin. *Epi. Ind* IX, p. 36 ff. *opp. cit.*
22. Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism and minor Religions*, p. 53
23. The Pallavas are to be taken to be Persian, origin, inspite of many ingenious interpretations by earlier scholars. Prof. T.V. Mahalingam accepts that both the Pallavas and Salankayanas come from Vihlikadesa (*Kancipuram in early South Indian History*, p. 24). Thus, he seems to subscribe to the theory of Pallava origin of the Pallavas.
24. Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao, *E.D.A.D.*, p. 347.
25. For the first time it is met with in the Dharikatura grant of Yuvamaharaja Acandavaman, which says that the donor as of Salankayana gotra (*Salankayana Sagotto*). Thus, the suggestion by Dr. Fleet (*Ind. Ant.*, V) that the term 'Salankayana' denotes the gotra appellation of the kings has been proved correct.
26. Kautilya suggests that kings must be of noble birth (*abhigamika guna*) apart from others (*Arthasastra*, VI, 1.). The Hindu social order expects a Ksatriya as the king and not any inferior to it. Thus, the kings of the time who were perhaps, mostly foreign or aboriginal origin, like the Pallavas, Salankayanas and others claimed high social status, not less than Brahmin and theoretically attained it by ritualism, by performing *Hirnyagarbha Mahadana* and, or *Asvamedha* sacrifice.
27. *E.H.A.C.*, p. 169.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 172. If the term 'Salankayana' denotes their gotra appellation, the dynasty is deprived of a name for itself. (The Pallavas had Bharadvaja gotra and the Vakatakas, the Visnuvrdha gotra). Hence, Dr. Gopalachari refers to the dynasty as Vaingeyaka, as they were the earliest kings to rule from that city.
29. In fact, no dynasty of the early time had an eponymous ancestor. Only at a later date, in the early medieval period the dynasties had build up legends on the origin of thier dynasty and its founder. Thus, Cutapallava was imagined as the founder of the Pallava dynasty and an eponymous Chalukya as the founder of the Calukya and similar is the case with many others.
30. *E.D.A.D.*, p. 347.
31. *H.C.I.P.*, III, *The Classical Age*, p. 204.
32. Mr. B.V.Krishnarao, however argues that the Salankayanas might have accepted the Ikshvaku suzerainty, *E.D.A.D.*, pp. 347-348. He supposed that the Ikshvaku kingdom comprised the whole of the Eastern Deccan, including the Daksina Kosala and the Abhiras of Govardhana and the Sakas of Ujjain accepted their overlordship. This view is quite unacceptable and thus the conclusion, eventhough is acceptable has to be reassessed.
33. The tentative Ikshvaku chronology according to the present writer is as follows:

Vasithiputta Siri Camtamula	...c. A.D. 220-250
Madhariputta Siri Virapurisadatta	...c. A.D. 250-275.

The Abhira invasion by Vasusena was only a passing event and perhaps, there was no Abhira interregnum in the Ikshvaku chronology.

Ehuvala Camtamula	... c. A.D. 275-300.
Rulupurisadatta	... c. A.D. 300-311.
34. *Epi. Ind.*, XXXII, p. 87 ff. Dr. D.C. Sircar has quite plausibly suggested that the Ikshvaku power together their capital and also the Buddhist establishments in its neighbourhood were perhaps, destroyed in the event of the pallava invasion, by Simhavarman of the inscription.

35. *Epi. Ind.* VI, pp. 84-89. The record renews the gift of the village Viripara, originally granted by Bappabhattaraka, i.e., his father. Thus, the father of Yuvamaharaja Siva Skandavarman, might be the same as, Simhavarman of the Mancikallu inscription. *Vide Epi. Ind.* XXXII, p. 87 ff. *opp. cit.*
36. The record with the renewal of the earlier gift, and the command issued to the *Vyapṛta* at Dhannakada, is a clear evidence to the Pallava authority on the Southern Andhra Country.
37. Text lines 3-4 reads: *Dhannakada vaptam anapayati.*
38. Mr. R.S. Panchamukhi (*Epi. Ind.*, XXV, pp. 42-34) suggests in this connection that Amdhapatha of the Mayidavolu inscription, perhaps included the Vengi region, north of the river Krishna. Eventhough most of the scholars do not subscribe to this view, Mr. Panchamukhi seems to be right in this suggestion.
39. Mayurasarman's revolt may be assigned to the later half of the reign of Maharaja Sivaskandavarman, (c. A.D. 330-350), when they were also perhaps, called on to face Abhira incursions on as their side and at the same critical hour, the Gupta invasion too might have taken place.
40. Mr. B.V. Krishna Rao, *E.D.A.D.*, p. 353 and 3577; and Dr. D.C. Sircar, *Successor* 73, and *H.C.I.P.*, II, The Classical age, p. 205. Dr. Gopalachari considered that he was not first king of the dynasty, nevertheless, the earliest of other known Salankayana rulers. *E.H.A.C.*, pp. 173-175 Dr. D.C. Sircar has recently reiterate his theory, in another way (*Epi. Ind.* XXXVI, pt. I, p. 1-7.) *Vide Infra.*
41. Prof. O. Ramachandriya, *Satavahanas and their Successors*, p. 46.
42. The kanukollu (Skt) plates of Skandavarman describe him (line 1-2) as: *aneka samara mukh a vikhayata karmanah, Maharaja Sri Hastivarmanah.* The pedavegi plates of Nandivarman II describe him (11 1-2) as: *aneka samar-avapt vijayino Hastivarma Maharaja.* The recently discovered Guntupalli stone inscription of the same king describe Hastivarman (11 1-2) as: *Salanku kul-amal-akasa asankasya; Visnu grha Catu-vidya Sal-ady-aneke vi ?va? tasya ???; Nanaprakara.....vijayasaya Mahara-ja sadrsa vana visargasya Bhupationo.....and Dharmamaharaja.* (The epithets mentioned from the stone inscription are only selective out of mutilated sentences of the recored and those that can give some meaning only.)
43. Guntupalli Stone inscription 11. .
44. The Pallava kings often styled themselves as *Dharamamaharajas*, cf. Hirnbadagalli plates of Maharaja Sivaksandavarman (1. 1-2); Mangadur plates of Simhavarman (11-16-17); udayendiram plates of Nandivarman (1 10); Sakrepatna plates of Simhavarman II, (11. 17-18) etc. This is yet another Similarity between the Salankayana and Pallava kings as an example of the former's influence on the latter. *Vide Supra?*
45. Dr. M. Ramarao, *S.E.H.A.*, p. 99.
46. The king was in the midst of a military camp, when he issued the record as the camp was at the city of Kudura (11. 1-2) reads: *Vijaya Kahmdavara nagara Kudurato?* He issued the command about the gift of the village Pamtura, to the Vyapṛta (11. 67 reads; *Anapayati Kudure Vaptam?* Thus, it as to be understood that the king must have invaded the udur-ahara, and annexed it, only before he made the gift. The original kingdom of Jayavarman was only south of the river Krishna.
47. Dr. K. Gopal chari dated Jayavarman to the last part of the third century, before the Pallava king Sivaskandavarman, *E.H.S.C.*, p. 163.
48. The two sets of Kanteru plates (set I) 1. 4) and (set II, 1,) record gifts of villages in *Kud-ahara*. The kolleru plates of Nandivarman register the gift in *Kudu-hara* and the Kanukollu (skt.) plates (1.8) register the gift of the village in *Kudrahara*. Perhaps, both the terms *kudu-hara* and *kudr-ahara*, mean only *kudur-ahara*. See *E. H.A.C.*, pp. 169-170, note 23.
49. *C.I.I., opp. cit.* o. 1, 11. 19-20.
50. The Aihole inscription of Pulakesin II refers to Kaunala, among the places that was conquered by him. The description of the place clearly points out that it was a lank or a fort in the midst of a lake. *Epi. Ind.*, VI, p. Text, 11. 13-14. Prof. Kielhorn

had identified the lake with Kaularu and suggested that it was, perhaps, the same with Kaurala of the Allahabad Prasasti (Ibid. P. 3)

51. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Pp. 60-61.
52. *E.D.A.D.*, P. 362 and 372-4.
53. R.C. Majumdar, *H.C.I.P.*, III, The Classical Age, P. 10, fn. 4.
54. *Bharati* (Tel.) August, 1978, P. 29 Text line 3 (*Opp. Cit.*)
55. *Ibid.* Text line. 3. The reading of the passage and its meaning are not clear, it may mean that Hastivarman I had cut down a forest of Maharajas or, exterminated a host of Maharajas, that looked like a forest. Any how, it is not a reliable account of the king and obsessed with boast by descendants that often met within inscriptions.
56. *Ibid.* P. 30.
57. The record was dated in the year 35. (*Vide Supra*)
58. Text line 3, reads *Sva pratap-apanit-ahitavarmanah.*
59. Text line 2-3, reads *Vividha dharma pradanasya.*
60. *Bharati* (*Opp. Cit.*) Text line 4.
61. Mattepadu plates 1. 2. The tentative anandagotra chronology followed in these pages is as given bellow

Kandra	..	c. 375—400 A.D.
Attivarman	..	c. 400—425 A.D.
Damodaravarman	..	c. 425—430 A.D.
62. *Vide Infra*, the Section on Nandivarman II.
63. The Pedavegi plates 1.4 and the Guntupalli stone inscription 1. 6.
64. *Opp. Cit.* 1.7
65. The Ningondi grant of Prabhanjanavarman describe Saktivarman, the donor's father (11.2-3) as: *Krsnavenna Mahanadyantaram sva prajadharmen-anusasinah.*
66. *Epi. Ind.* XXX, Pp. 112 ff.
67. *Epi. Ind.*, XII, No. 1, pp. 1 ff. Text line 1. The tentative Mathara chronology as adopted in these pages is as follows:

Sankaravarman	..	c. 375—400 A.D.
Saktivarman	..	c. 400—415 A.D.
Prabhanjanavarman	..	c. 415—425 A.D.
Anantasaktivarman	..	c. 425—455 A.D.
68. *Epi. Ind.* XXVIII, Pp. 298 ff. This Umavarman is different from another king of the same name, and the donor of the Dhavalapeta (*Epi. Ind* XXVI, Pp' 132 ff.) and the Brhatprosthha (*Epi Ind.* 12, Pp' 4ff) Copper plate grants. The Tekkali plates contain the seal with a legend *Pitrhaktah.* The latter two grants had seals with obliterated legends in four lines, similar to many Mathara copper plate grants.
69. *Epi. Ind.* XXVII, No. 8. Pp. 33 ff.
70. *Ibid* IV, No. 16, Pp. 142 ff.
71. The Bobbili plates text 11. 1-2 and the Komarti plates, Text 11.2.
72. *Vide Supra*, note no. 12 c.
73. For the Pallava chronology and the place assigned to the king, please refer to my article in *ITI HAS.* VI, No. 2, Pp. 21 ff.
74. *Epi. Ind.* XV, Pp. 246 ff.
75. Text lines. 14-15. *Vijaya Samvatsare trayas-trimse 30 3 Hemanta paksa trtiye 3 trayo-dasyam.*
76. The honorific prefix borne by the Pallava as well as the Salankayana kings also, seems to have something to say about their conflicts.
77. *Vide Supra.* Note No. 48.
78. Text lin I.
79. Dr. D.C.Sircar suggests that the king was probably very old when the grant was issued, because of the fact that the king was described as of hundred years old (*vasa Satayukassa*). He has further suggested that the king might be on pilgrimage when he issued the grant. He has also suggested that the king was apparently not very much interested in power and politics and more intent upon attaining Heaven, peacefully. I had acce-

- pted the suggestion, when I wrote my earlier article (*ITIHAAS*, V, No. 1, *opp. cit.*). However, I differ with due respect to the learned Professor and suggest that the king was not aged about hundred years at the time of the grant, but it was only a gesture of hope and secondly, that the king was on the battle ground and not in pilgrimage.
80. *Epi. Ind.* XXVIII, Pp. 175 l. 1, reads: *Maha hasty-asva skandhavarat Vijayapurat* . . .
 81. *Epi. Ind.* XXVIII, Pp. 226 ff. 19, reads: *Samvatsaram 20 8 Phalguna suklapakas das myam*. On the other hand the Andhavaram plates were dated (*opp. cit.*) as: *Samvatsara-cautre dasah 10 4 Sravana sukla pancamyam*.
 82. Text line 4. *Svarnayan-arthanca* . . .
 83. Text line 4. *Catur-udadhi tarang- alingita yasasah*.
 84. *Vide Supra* Note no. 58
 85. *Vide Supra* Note no. 59
 86. *Vide Supra* Note no. 60
 87. *Vide Supra* Note no. 12, d and c.
 88. The city of Simhapura seems to have commanded a prestigious place in the early history of Kalinga, as the city of Vengi in early Andhra history. Successively, the Matharas, a king called Umavarman, of an unknown dynasty and the Pitrbhaktas ruled from the city, and held titles like *Kalinga-adhipatis* or *Sakala Kalingadhipatis*. Perhaps, with the rise of the Eastern Gangas at the close of the fifth century, who ruled from Dantapura and later from Kalinganagara, the city of Simhapura seems to have lost its Importance.
 89. *Epi. Andhrika*, II, Pp. 15 ff. Text line, 23-24
 90. *Epi. Ind.* XV, (set II) pp. 246 ff. Text line 19-20.
 91. *A.P.G.A.S.*, No. 6, Ch. XVIII, (*opp. cit.*) Text line 18.
 92. Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan. *The Visnukundis and their times*.
 93. Mr. B.V. Krishnarao, *E.D.A.D.*, P. 503 writes that Natrpativisaya, may be the same as Nathavadi-visaya, which is frequently mentioned in the Eastern Calukyan inscriptions and comprises the modern nandigama taluk of the Krishna, Madhira taluk of the Khammam districts and lain on either sides of the river Krishna.
 94. *E.D.A.D.* (*opp. cit.*) P. 359. See also below, note no. 97.
 95. *Ibid.*, P. 375.
 96. The penugonda plates of Hastivarman II register a gift in that country. Probably the Salankayana possession of the country may be short lived.
 97. *New History of Indian People*, VI, Pp. 99-100 and *Early History of the Deccan*, ed. G. Yazdani). p. 161. He was of the opinion that the political lacunae between A.D. 275, the date of the fall of the Ikshvakus according to him, and A.D. 325 the date of the rise of the Salankayanas might have been the period of Vakataka overlordship on Andhra country. Thus, he opined that the Salankayanas rose to prominence from the weakness of the Vakataka power, after the death of *Samrat Pravarasena I* But the view is not plausible in the light of the observations made above.
 98. *C.I.I.*, V, intro. xxxi.

Origin and Territorial Limits of Kalinga

Biswarup Das

The *Puranas*¹ and the *Mahabharata*² preserve an interesting anecdote regarding the origin of Kalinga. It is stated that the sage Dirghatamas, at the request of the king, Bali, begot from his queen Sudesna five sons named Anga, Vanga, Kalinga, Pundra and Suhma. After Bali, his kingdom was divided among these five princes and subsequently their respective kingdoms were named after them. But such accounts appear to be more mythical than historical. It may reasonably be suggested that Kalinga was named after a stock of people rather than after a founder monarch. In the *Mahabharata*³ the sage Lomasa is represented as pointing out Yudhisthira about the territory of the Kalingas. Karna is also said in the *Mahabharata*⁴ to have conquered the Kalingas. The *Jatakas*⁵ and *Digha Nikaya*⁵ make repeated mention of Kalingas and Dantapura, identified with Palura, as the capital of their territory. The Greeks⁷ also speak of the *Calingea* i.e. Kalingas. Thus Kalinga was named after a tribe inhabiting this land.

The rich and fertile coastal plain extending from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Godavari formed the traditional homeland of the ancient Kalingas. The *Mahabharata* points out that the northern border of Kalinga extended upto the Ganges. The sage Lomasa points out Yudhisthira from the mouth of the Ganges that "this is the territory of the Kalingas where flows the river Vaitarani."⁸ Some scholars⁹ are of the opinion that the Vaitarani formed the north-eastern boundary of Kalinga. But the epic statement does not warrant that the river formed its border. On the other hand the Vaitarani is referred to only as a river flowing in the territory of Kalinga. Again, the Pandavas together with Lomasa entered the Kalinga country after having crossed the confluence of the Ganges and the sea, thus indicating that the Ganges formed the boundary line of Kalinga. Dantakura, identical with Dantapura, is mentioned in the *Mahabharata* as the capital of Kalinga.

The statement of the *Mahabharata* about the northern limit of Kalinga finds corroboration in the accounts of early Greek writers. *Megasthenes*¹⁰ refers to a territory called *Gangaridum Calingarum Regia* and mentions that the Ganges was the eastern boundary of it. Pliny¹¹ also states about a territory known as *Gangarides Calingae*.

Pliny¹², however, speaks of an extensive territory of kalinga country as he divides it into three parts, viz. *Gangarides*, *Calingae*, *Macco Calingae* and *Calingae* proper. As regards the southern boundary of Kalinga, Pliny suggests the *cape Calingae* situated on the mouth of the *Godavari*¹³. The Western boundary of Kalinga can be fixed at Amarakantaka hills on the basis of the *Puranas*¹⁴.

Thus the valleys of the Ganges and the Godavari in the north and the south respectively as well as the hills of Amarakantaka and the Bay of Bengal formed the traditional boundaries of Kalinga. The political geography, however, has frequently been disturbed in course of history resulting in changes in territorial limits.

The Nanda king Mahapadmananda, according to the Puranic accounts conquered Kalinga in the 4th century B.C.¹⁵ The Nanda rule over Kalinga is evident from the Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela. The Nanda King excavated a canal in Kalinga and this canal was further extended by Kharavela. This suggests that the entire Kalinga was under the rule of the said Nanda king, who was probably Mahapadmananda. The Nanda rule over Kalinga, according to the Greek accounts¹⁶ confined to the northern portion of it i.e. *Gangaridae Calingae* during the period of Dhanananda (Agrammes).

This northern portion of Kalinga slipped out of the Nanda authority during the revolt of Chandragupta against Dhanananda. The northern portion of Kalinga together with the Southern and Central portions of Kalinga formed the powerful Kalinga against which Asoka directed his arms. Kalinga constituted a province of the far-flung Maurya empire under Asoka with headquarters at Tosali and Samapa. Kalinga regained her independence after the fall of the Mauryas. The mighty army of Kalinga under Kharavela marched upto Mathura in the north, the Pandyan Kingdom in the south and the territories of the Rathikas and Bhojakas in the West. Kalinganagari, the capital of his empire, may be identified with Sisupalgarh in the light of the archaeological excavations.

Kalidasa¹⁷ mentions the river Kapisa, Modern Kansai, as the northern boundary of Kalinga and indicates that Utkala and Vanga were formed out of portions of kalinga as stated by the Greeks. The Allahabad pillar inscription however, is silent about Kalinga, though it mentions about the southern campaign of Samudragupta. Most probably Kalinga at that time was divided into a number of petty principalities such as Kottura, (Kothoor in Ganjam District) Pistapura (Pithapuram in Godavari District) Erandapalla and Devarastras (Erandapalli and Yellamanchili in Visakhapatnam District) These kingdoms comprised roughly the territory extending from the Risikulya in the north to the Godavari in the south. During the Gupta period Kalinga probably was confined to this territory.

Kalinga emerged as an united and powerful kingdom under the Matharas. The Ningondi grant of Prabhanjanavarman⁸ mentions that Kalinga extended from the Mahanadi to the Krisna during the hey-day of Mathara supremacy. Though the Matharas failed to retain their hold over such an extensive territory for long, they continued to rule over the territory from the Mahanadi to the Godavari. Their capital¹⁹ was Simhapura, which was also named as Vijayapura or Vijayasimhapura. The early Matharas called their Kingdom Kalinga whereas the later Matharas called it Sakalakalinga possibly due to the growth of their power and pelf.

By the end of the fifth century A.D. the mighty kingdom of the Matharas was divided between the Eastern Ganges and the Vigrahas. The former ruled over the southern portion and the later over the northern portion of the so called Sakala Kalinga of the Matharas. As such, both of them claimed the title Kalingadhipati in their own records. It is interesting to note that Lokavigraha called himself Lord of Tosali in his Kanas Copper plate²⁰. So from the seventh century A.D. onwards the Kingdom of Vigrahas was known as Tosali and that of the Eastern Ganges as Kalinga. By the end of eleventh century A.D. Anantavarman Chodaganga of the Eastern Ganga dynasty expanded his kingdom both northwards and southwards upto the Ganges and the Godavari respectively. It was, however, never known as Kalinga during the imperial Gangas and the Gajapatis, Kalinga represented a *dandapata* i.e. a fiscal division and continued to be so upto the Mughals. Thus, the name of Kalinga, which in ancient times was applicable to an extensive empire, was reduced to a very small territory in the medieval period.

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(b) Matsya Purana - XIVIII, 23-29, 43-89
(c) Brahmanda Purana - III, IXXI, 25-34, 47-100
(d) Bhagavata Purana - IX, XXIII, 5
Also See F.E. Pargieer, AIHT, 158
2. Adipavan, cix, 4193-4221
Anga Vanga Kalingas Ca = Pundrah Suhmas = cate sutah/tesam desah sam-akhyatah sva-namaprathitabhuvi, Kalinga-visayas = aiva Kalingasya ca sa smrtah.
3. Vanaparvan, cxi, 3-4.
4. Drona Parva, iv, 122, Bhisma Parva, ix, 348.
5. See Kalingabodhi J., Chullakalinga J, Vessantara J, Kumbhakara J, Kurudhamma J. etc.
6. Digha Nikaya, II, 235

7. R.C. Majumdar, the classical Account of India, calcutta 1960, pp. 341-42, 350 also see Bostock & Roley (tr) Pliny's Natural History, II, 46.
8. Lomasa uvaca/etc Kalingah Kauntaya yatra Vaitaraninadi, Vanaparvan, cxiv, 3-4 (Tirthayatra section)
9. R.C. Raychaudhuri, Political History of Ancient India (1938), 88
10. Mc Crindle, AI, 137
11. Bostock & Riley (tr) Pliny's Natural History, II, 42-44
12. Ibid
13. Mc Crindle, Anceint India as described by Magasthenes & Arri on, 144
14. (a) Matsya Purana, cxxciv, 12
(b) Kurma Purana, II, xxxix, 9
(c) Skanda Purana, v, 3; xxi, 7
15. F.E. Pargieer, DKA, 23-24
16. Mc. Crindle, Invasion of India by Alexander the Great, 221, 281.
17. Raghuvamsa, iv, 38
18. El. XXX, 112 ft. Krsnavenna-Mahanadyantarasthapraja dharmenanusasitah.
19. Ibid, IV, 143 xxviii, 175 ff, 226 ff
20. Ibid, xxviii, 328

Changing Patterns of the Form and Distribution of Landed Property in Ancient India

Vijay Kumar Thakur

The present paper attempts a historical survey of the stages in the social distribution of landed property in ancient India. For this survey the Harappan Civilisation of the third millennium B. C. can be taken as the starting point. The very fact that it was a city civilisation implies that the rulers, traders and craftsmen inhabiting the cities lived on the surplus produced by the peasant communities settled along rivers and flood-channels. The broad similarity and uniformity of cultural pattern throughout the length and breadth of the Harappan Zone suggests the existence of a central authority.¹ It is not clear whether the ruling class consisted of a secular king or a priest-king or a merchant oligarchy, but when D. D. Kosambi talks of an elaborate unchanging magic ritual reinforcing the autocratic control², he definitely indicates the existence of priest-kings. The dominance of religion is further attested by the essentially conservative nature of the Harappans³. This brings us to an important facet of the civilisation. If the Harappans failed to learn the use of shaft-hole axes, ribbed spears, swords, canals, ploughs, clay tablets for records from the Mesopotamians, it can mean only one thing: "The class of people who saw better productive methods abroad had nothing in common with the producers at home, nor any incentive for change."⁴ This indicates that the group which profited from production on the Indus had a secure grip on the expropriated surplus, and no danger of violent opposition from their own population or foreign invaders, a situation which may partially explain the weak mechanism of violence of the Harappans⁵. This state of affairs naturally implies the servile status of the cultivating communities the later day *dasyus* or *dasas* of the *Rigveda*; the division of society into two distinct classes is clear from the archaeological remains⁶. The granaries were the symbols of this class division as well as the exploitation of the cultivators by the ruling *elite*.

The Harappan civilisation came to an end in c. 1750 B.C. mainly because of its stagnation; the Aryans were instrumental only in effacing a civilisation which had already dissipated. The immigration of the Aryans had begun in the first half of the second millennium B. C. and their earliest text was the

Rigveda whose major portion was composed between 1500 and 1000 B.C. in Afghanistan and the Panjab region. Although the early Vedic society was tribal in nature, even then it is almost certain that the brahmanas and the ksatriyas constituted the ruling class. Notably the wealth of these two groups was not counted (in reference to the gains from war and gifts) in land, but in other movable objects.⁷ This indicates the comparative independence of peasants, which is further attested by the absence of a taxation system in this period. The only form of payment to the chiefs was *bali* which was more in the nature of a voluntary offering.⁸

The structure of land ownership in the earliest phase of the Rigvedic period was based on some sort of communal ownership in land. The stage of the Aryan culture was such that land could have become private property, but as they were an invading people who came to possess cultivable land, they seem to have assigned it to the *ganas*⁹. Moreover, in the absence of the knowledge of iron, agriculture as well as clearing of land was beyond individual endeavour and it required the organised labour of the whole community thereby paving the way for communal ownership¹⁰. N.C. Bandyopadhyaya suggests that pasture land too was held in common¹¹. Moreover, in this period no land could be alienated without the consent of the *vis*, suggesting there by the prevalence of communal ownership in the initial stages of Aryan expansion in India¹².

The communal ownership of land, however, did not survive for long as the egalitarian structure of the agrarian society of the Aryans came to be disturbed in course of their struggle with the indigeneous people. As a consequence by the end of this period the sudras had emerged as a separate class not having the status of the peasants. They were servile field-labourers or possible 'helots'¹³. Their entry into the Aryan fold disturbed the equilibrium of the social distribution of landed property. A sense of *svatva* (personal ownership) began to develop¹⁴. Bandyopadhyaya suggests that private ownership in the homestead and arable land existed in this period¹⁵. Competent authorities like Schrader¹⁶, and Macdonell and Keith¹⁷ admit that the idea of individual ownership was recognised in the Vedic age. R.K. Chaudhary, however, thinks that private ownership was strictly limited to the right to enjoyment¹⁸ and therefore it was not very legal and absolute. But the very fact that there was a tendency towards private ownership makes it obvious that land was being expropriated by the Aryan ruling elite' and the sudras just toiled on the soil without having any real control over it.

The later Vedic period witnessed important changes in the agrarian life of the people. Not only agriculture was stabilised but expansion was also made in this direction. These changes in the economic life rudely shook the erstwhile simpler forms of landed property. The very fact that the fields came to be counted as an index of wealth¹⁹, indicates that large landed possessions were becoming the order of the day. The reference to heavy plough-

in the later Vedic literature²⁰ implies the need of sizeable capital for pursuing agriculture. Thus those who possessed numerous cattle as well as slave-labour gained control over the agrarian economy. Keith even suggests the substitution of peasant proprietors by the landowner cultivating his estate by means of slaves.²¹ The *Srautasutras* refer to slaves being given away along with ploughs²² and sudras being given away along with land²³. A famous passage of the *Aitareya Brahmana* describes a sudra as a servant bound to render service whenever called upon to do so, and to be beaten at pleasure.²⁴ Alongwith them the vaisyas too increasingly became subject to the exactions and oppressions of a superior class. The *Satapatha Brahmana* explains certain rites as establishing the control of the *ksatra* (ruling chiefs) over the *vis* (community)²⁵. The sudra has been ignored, presumably because the kings' control over him is taken for granted. Another passage, which speaks of *brahma* and *ksatra* being established among the *vis* but leaves out the sudra, conveys a similar idea²⁶. The period also witnessed the appearance of an embryonic village overlord, who had "creatures led by the noses"²⁷ and kept the folk dependent upon him.²⁸ These significant expressions probably refer to the lordships of single villages no doubt acquired in the first instance by individual exertion, but afterwards receiving the seal of royal confirmation. Here we have the earliest evidence of the development of another superior non-peasant right on the land. The endowments in favour of the brahmanas²⁹, though not sizeable, further strengthened this new development. The growth of this new relationship in landed property was ably supported by the increasing royal power and pretensions. Now the king began to grant authority over land and villages to his lesser chiefs³⁰ and finally to the brahmanas³¹. Initially such grants were made only with the permission of the clan³² but later it tended to be arbitrary as is obvious from the opposition that this act generated³³. This new development was a natural corollary to the growing importance of landed property and the territorial idea that was subsequently generated.

Towards the closing decades of this period there developed a struggle, for sharing the social surplus. The struggle was so acute that the latest Vedic texts, particularly the *Satapatha Brahmana*, found it necessary to stress unity between the Brahmanas and the Ksatriyas³⁴. Although the contemporary sources do not refer to peasant revolts, rituals hint at them³⁵. However the perpetual need of collecting tributes and sacrificial fees from the peasantry supplemented by the demand for the service of the sudras must have kept the two upper social groups together.

The situation further changed during the next two hundred and seventy-five years (c. 600-322 B.C.). The economic scene was being transformed mainly because of the growing use of iron. Here it should be emphasised that towards the beginning of this period iron did not play any meaningful role in production but by the end, i.e., c.322 B.C., iron came to be increasingly used in the field of production thereby helping the agrarian economy, growth

of towns and trade³⁶. These developments affected the forms and distribution of landed property during this period.

The village communities of landowners, whose existence at the beginning of this period has been emphasised by Mrs. Rhys Davids³⁷, were supplanted by men possessing wealth, particularly in the form of cattle or slaves who came to control large stretches of land. The *Jatakas* refer to estates of 1000 *kari-sas*³⁸ worked by means of slaves and hired labourers³⁹, landowners with a wealth of 800 millions⁴⁰, and veritable "cattle magnets"⁴¹ along with big brahmana landowners⁴². The emergence of brahmana landlords was a result of the royal assignment of revenue-free land to them⁴³. But contrary to Fick's assumption, the brahmanas did not constitute the entire class of non-peasant landholders. There are numerous references in the *Jatakas* to *setthis* possessing villages and fields⁴⁴.

Agriculture was mostly carried out by the sudras. The *Dharmasutras* assign agriculture to the *vaisyas*⁴⁵, who were independent peasant proprietors paying taxes to the state⁴⁶. As the sudras are not required to pay land-tax, they were obviously landless labourers. Despite this clear cut caste/class differentiation and the trend towards consolidation of larger landholdings, the peasant communities of earlier times persisted⁴⁷. Not only collective farming seems to be still in vogue⁴⁸, but productive efforts by the whole community were also undertaken⁴⁹. Moreover the existence of certain villages peopled exclusively by members of any particular craft⁵⁰ implies that the agriculture of such areas was carried on a collective basis and the village land was owned by the guild.

The status of the ordinary peasant, however, underwent a fundamental change as they increasingly came to be subjected to the authority of the local superior classes, the *gahapatis*⁵¹ and *kutumbikas*⁵². They possessed land in their own right and controlled villages⁵³. These big farmers also carried on a lucrative money-lending business in villages not always without abuse and this must have helped to further their control over the peasants⁵⁴. It not only enabled the big landlords to obtain a share in the crop (in lieu of his money) but, at times, even the debtor's plot of land could be apportioned and thereafter, the debtor generally offered himself for hire in the rich man's estate.

In spite of the Brahmanical caste/class differentiation and the growth of monarchies, there were certain tribal regions where oligarchies were established⁵⁵. They were sustained by the labour of sudra-helots⁵⁶. The class distinction was so sharp that in the Lichchhavi state the vast mass of non-*rajas*, slaves, hired labourers, etc., had no place in the republican assembly⁵⁷. W. Ruben thinks that each member of the oligarchy was the proprietor of a landed estate⁵⁸. His hypothesis is quite logical and based on historical facts, yet R.S. Sharma thinks otherwise⁵⁹. In these oligarchies, the oligarchs exercised almost complete control over landed property.

The struggle to control the social surplus between the brahmanas and the ksatriyas became more fierce during this period⁶⁰. With the growth in royal power the ksatriyas challenged the authority of the brahmanas⁶¹ and tried to have a full control over the social surplus. This is corroborated by the absence of any antagonism between the poor brahmanas and ksatriyas⁶²; the struggle was confined to the *elite* groups. But as most of the state business could be carried out only with the help of the brahmanas, cooperation between the two groups was necessary in order to expropriate the social surplus⁶³.

The next hundred and twenty years (c. 322-200 B.C.) witnessed the fulfilment of the earlier trends in the economic life. The developed technology and the state participation in agriculture during this period greatly helped the agrarian economy. It founded new settlements⁶⁴ and these were overwhelmingly peopled by sudra peasants and lowclass elements⁶⁵ as they could be thoroughly exploited⁶⁶. But a sizeable portion of the newly colonised area constituted king's domain (*sita*)⁶⁷, which was at once a newer form of landed property. The king's land was divided into two categories. The first was cultivated by the labour of slaves, wage-earners and convicts under the direction of royal officials. The second type was leased—by one interpretation, to labourers “who have nothing to contribute but the labour of their bodies⁶⁸,” and to surrender 3/4 th of the crop to the king; and by another to “those who live by valour⁶⁹,” were encouraged to settle by being allowed to pay only 1/4 th of the crop⁷⁰. The second category of land was also leased to share-croppers who cultivated it for half the share of the produce⁷¹. R.S.Sharma, however, argues that there were two kinds of share-croppers the one retaining half and the other 1/4th or 1/5th of their produce⁷².

Despite the growth of almost absolute royal rights over land, superior private rights over the same continued to exist. The *gahapatis* and *kutumbikas* of the earlier period came to be recognised as *paura-janapada*, the town and country “citizenry⁷³”. The *janapadas* paid the king a tax of 1/6th of the produce along with other taxes according to the *rastra* scheme⁷⁴. On the other hand, the former extracted a large part of the surplus from peasants, sometimes even through employing *ardha-sitikas* or share-croppers from whom they took half of the crop⁷⁵. The *janapada* magnate was, however, not a private or feudal landlord, but the head of a large patriarchal family⁷⁶. Local customs and group tradition made him in-charge of the surplus produced by the members of that group and he began trading in surplus. The profits were converted into private property and the welfare of the whole group now depended upon his will.

The land grants in this period prepared a class having superior rights over land. In the chapters relating to the settlement of new and old tracts Kautilya enjoins the king to grant land exempted from taxes and fines to the following groups: the sacrificing priest, the preceptor, the domestic chaplain and those

learned in the *Vedas*⁷⁷. Kautilya also provides for tax-free endowment of land to different class of officials in lieu of their services without the right to alienation⁷⁸. Similarly revenue-free military assignments in lieu of providing troops were to be granted to military chiefs⁷⁹. On the whole, the Kautilyan provisions seem to have created a class of landholders who instead of physically engaging themselves in agriculture got their land worked out by the sudras.

The *sreni* members also enjoyed some independent rights over land. The *sreni* at that time was an intermediate group between tribe and caste⁸⁰. These guild organisations moved out into the forests on their own and colonised land⁸¹. Their taxes depended on whether they were in recognised *rastra* or *sita* areas⁸². Although they participated in social production, yet they were neither thoroughly depressed nor absorbed within the Brahmanical caste hierarchy⁸³. Such lands which contained permanently hostile elements were even granted to the *srenis*⁸⁴.

Despite the growth of superior private rights over land there is an absence of an intermediary class. From the Rummindei inscription of Asoka it becomes clear that the king directly dealt with the question of land-tribute exemption⁸⁵. Romila Thapar argues that landlords did not exist and hence the absence of an intermediary class.⁸⁶ The first part of the argument is not correct. The only possibility is that even the landlords were not allowed to stand in the way of the king, on the one hand, and the peasants on the other. This was in keeping with the Mauryan policy of absolute centralisation.

Interestingly the *Arthasastra* refers to some independent sudra cultivators owning land, but they held land on a tenure which was not secured.⁸⁷ On the whole, the organisation of agricultural production in the Mauryan period resembled, in certain respects, that which prevailed in Greece and Rome. The sudras were subjected to *corvee* on such a large scale that a class of government servants known as *visti bandhakas* worked as procurers of free labour⁸⁸. The state ensured their complete subservience by disarming the general population.⁸⁹ The complete control of the Mauryan state over irrigational projects must have further tightened the royal control over landed property.

Our sources belonging to the early centuries A.D. and B.C. indicate an all-round development in the economic field including a proliferation of arts and crafts, spurt in commodity production, large scale inland and foreign trade, unprecedented urban growth, penetration of money economy deeply into the life of the common man, and massive extension of agrarian economy. All these developments were bound to affect the social distribution of landed property in this period. To begin with the period witnessed the growth of a new trade crop-coconut. They were important because they alone made the coastal agrarian settlement possible.⁹⁰ For its plantation, densely forested region of heavy rainfall was first cleared⁹¹ in a commodity producing economy. It was a trade crop brought by the flourishing trade of this period and hence

its plantation areas must have grown into trade centres. We may reasonably assume that tribal land near these trade centres developed suddenly to a new form with rapid transition from tribal to private property and formation of a newly wealthy and labouring class, the first being the sole owner of the landed property of that area.

The traders, who were naturally getting rich because of the vigorous contemporary trading situation, seem to have started investing their money in agricultural land⁹². This signified the growth of new factor in the sphere of landed property in the form of the emergence of a new class of landholders. The existence of such a class is further attested by the contemporary epigraphs. One such inscription tells us that the Saka prince Usavadata (c. A.D. 120) purchased a field from a brahmana near Nasik in order to provide food for certain monks⁹³. This is a clear example of the existence of a non-peasant private right to the produce of the land⁹⁴. We can read this alongwith an inscription of the 3rd century A.D. which establishes "the practice of letting out land to cultivators who received half the produce"⁹⁵. Thus, we have evidence for both non-peasant land-owners and their counterparts, share-croppers.

This brings us to an interesting problem. D.D. Kosambi has postulated a stage around the beginning of the Christian era, when closed peasant-village economy prevailed with practically no superior landowning class or overlords, and only limited authority and exactions claimed by the king⁹⁶. But in course of time the king alienated his rights to subordinate chiefs who ruled in their own right and did what they liked within their own territories as long as they paid their paramount ruler⁹⁷. It disturbed the earlier arrangement and now it was the chiefs who came to have direct relations with the peasantry, a process which Kosambi terms "Feudalism from above"⁹⁸. "His theorisation has been attacked and R.S. Sharma too appears to reject-for he does not explicitly take issue with Kosambi on this point-the hypothesis that a land owning class above the peasantry did not come into existence until the later centuries of the first millennium B.C.⁹⁹. He concludes that a *svami* or owner existed over the actual tiller and the former leased their land to temporary cultivators"¹⁰⁰.

Probably this tendency was responsible for the absence of any reference to large farms in the post-Mauryan period. Manu (c.200 B.C.—A.D.200), however, is not very clear on this point¹⁰¹. But the disappearance of slave labour *vis-a-vis* agrarian economy, which is a necessary component of large farm cultivation, from this period may support our hypothesis. In fact, the last traces of agrarian slavery comes to us from the *Milindapanho* (c. 100 B.C.)¹⁰². Taken together this will imply the trend towards consolidation of peasant cultivation. This may partially explain the disappearance of the *sita* land by the end of this period.

It is almost certain that all land was not completely in the hands of a small ruling group. There were still large areas of jungles and hence it could not have been possible to establish a monopoly over land in the hands of a small non-peasant class because the contemporary texts explicitly mention private ownership of such tracts of land as were being cleared by individuals.¹⁰³ The provisions of these texts clearly indicate that land was directly occupied by individual peasants without the interference of the king or a superior class, if he himself cleared that piece of land¹⁰⁴. Thus, independent peasant holdings were growing in such areas.

An important development of this period was the land grants made by the royalty. The earlier evidence of this practice is found in the Nanaghat cave inscription of Nagnika, but it does not speak of any concession¹⁰⁵. These for the first time appear in grants made by Gautamiputra Satakarni in the first quarter of the second century A.D. The Satavahana inscriptions of this century speak of exemptions of all kinds granted to the beneficiaries by using the term *Sarva-jati-parihara*,¹⁰⁶ thereby leaving the donated areas completely in the possession of religious beneficiaries. The transfer of fiscal and administrative rights was, however, not made permanent thereby retaining some hold over such areas. This was necessary because land was generally granted to extend the area of cultivation and the donee who failed to help this process had to be replaced.

Thus, the landed property was under the control of the three upper *varnas*, especially the brahmanas and the ksatriyas. The sudra populace was generally without any landed property. Large farms and agrarian slavery was generally disappearing yet sudra peasants did not emerge¹⁰⁷. They were mainly agricultural labourers¹⁰⁸. In the non-monarchical states land was in the hands of a small non-peasant group—the *rajans*¹⁰⁹.

The period from c 300—600 A.D. witnessed a decline in urban centres and urban economy but there was a general expansion of agrarian economy as more and more virgin land was being brought under plough through land grants. The marked feature of this period was the grant of land both by the royalty and wealthy individuals to brahmanas and Buddhists. The king also seems to have started the practice of granting land revenues to some of his officers in lieu of their salaries. This practice is probably supported by a passage from Fa-hsien¹¹⁰ but epigraphs do not refer to such a practice. Moreover, a rule of Manu providing land as remuneration to rural officials¹¹¹, is reproduced in a law-book of the Gupta period¹¹², a fact which may suggest that the practice continued to enjoy authority in the Gupta period. These allotments of revenues were gradually being transferred into some sort of permanent holdings. From the Gupta period the *bhogikas* or district officers tended to become hereditary and were set permanently over particular localities¹¹³ which implies the fixation of revenue allotments. In the *kamasutra* the village headman even exacts unpaid labour from peasant-women and com-

pels them to fill his granaries and work on his fields.¹¹⁴ The land revenue officers, thus appear to possess ownership over land and to enjoy semi-feudal rights over the peasantry.

The land grants made to the religious beneficiaries assumed new proportions during the Gupta period. From the fifth century A.D. the ruler gave up his control over almost all the sources of revenue¹¹⁵ and the Guptas willingly consented to the *aksayanivi* grants made by individuals¹¹⁶. In these land grants the state was forgoing its share of the produce in favour of the brahmanas or temples in consideration of 1/6 th of spiritual merit accruing from it¹¹⁷. These grants created powerful intermediaries wielding considerable political and economic power in the countryside¹¹⁸.

The land-grants increased the number of landowning brahmanas, some of whom gradually shed their priestly functions and turned their attention towards the management of land and other secular activities¹¹⁹. These land-grants also led to the rise of land-owning monastic institutions, the prototypes of later *mathas*. The main factor responsible for the growth of land-owning monastic institutions was the grant of the *agraharas* by the king for religious and educational purposes¹²⁰. Such beneficiaries got their land cultivated by temporary or permanent peasant and collected rent from them, but retained the whole amount without forwarding anything to the government treasury as royal revenue demand.

Besides the completely religious grants, secular grants for religious purposes were also made. An early instance is found in central India in A.D. 496-497 in a grant made by *maharaja* Jayanatha. A village was granted as an *agrahara* to a scribe and other members of his family to manage it for religious purposes¹²¹. It can be surmised that such holdings were probably misused by the secular trustees in their own interests, and more so by the scribes whose oppressions were proverbial¹²². Certain purely secular grants are also mentioned in the contemporary epigraphs. Thus, Sarvanatha in A.D. 533-534 granted two villages to a person called Pulindabhatal¹²³. We also come across the rise of a new type of village, which served as the resort of royal favourites¹²⁴. One of the *Puranas* states that such a village was generally inhabited by wicked and powerful men who, not owning any field themselves, lived upon the fields of others¹²⁵. Thus, the class of royal favourites formed an important group of intermediaries.

Because of the land-grants the period witnessed the emergence of self sufficient village communities together with serfdom¹²⁶ and sub-infeudation¹²⁷. It seems that the number of independent and permanent peasant proprietors, was gradually dwindling. Yajñvalkya enjoins that land should be assigned to the cultivator not by the king but by the landowner. Thus, in the organisation of land-economy he visualises three stages, viz *mahipati* (king), *ksetrasvami* (landowner) and *Karsaka* (cultivator)¹²⁸, a provision roughly corroborated

ted by Brahaspati¹²⁹. Even then a sizeable portion of land continued to be in the possession of free peasants, who paid revenues to the state directly¹³⁰. But their position was undermined because of the imposition of several new taxes together with forced labour, all of which can be regarded as feudal dues. The condition of sudras and agricultural labourers, however seems to have improved. While the wages of the later were doubled¹³¹. The former emerged as independent peasants¹³². This comparative economic prosperity of the sudras may partially explain their hostile attitude towards the grants made to the brahmanas¹³³.

An important feature of this period is the increasing fragmentation of land¹³⁴. The Kalaikuri copper-plate inscription of A.D. 400-401 mentions that even nine *Kulyavapas* of land had to be purchased from five different villages¹³⁵. This development might have been caused by the breaking up of large joint families in this period, a situation corroborated by the appearance of laws of inheritance for the first time in the codes of Narada and Brahaspati¹³⁶. Once the principle of partition was recognised, the increasing density of population in the fertile river valleys of North India, after the earlier phases of settlement, was bound to accelerate the pace of fragmentation of arable plots of land. Thus, one thing is certain that land was becoming both scarce and important¹³⁷. This will seem to be a natural development if one keeps in mind the decline of trade and urban centres, and growth of local units of production during this period. This resulted in relative dependence on land and the urban groups, especially the merchants, had to migrate to villages where they might have settled after purchasing land.

The above survey marks out certain well-defined stages in the evolution of landed property in ancient India. From a probable priestly control over land during the Harappan phase the transition had been made towards the emergence of a feudal land system by the end of the 6th century A.D. Land now came to be owned mostly by a set of intermediaries both religious and secular. Land grants made by kings and their feudatories not only bestowed fiscal rights but even administrative rights came to be conferred upon the donees. This led to the creation of semi-independent pockets of administration as well as economy within the royal territories and paved the way for the full fledged development of a feudal system in the post-Gupta times.

Notes and References

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26. *Ibid.*, XI. 2.7.16.
27. *Taittiriya Samhita*, II. 1.1.2.
28. *Ibid.*, 1.2.3.
29. Cf. *Satapatha Brhamana*, XIII. 7.1.15.
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63. Without the help of religion it would have been impossible to. keep the masses under complete subjugation. For other reasons, see V.K. Thakur, *Hindutva* (August 1976), p. 32.
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71. *Arthasastra*, II. 24.
72. *Sudras in Ancient India*, p. 150.
73. D.D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 223 ff.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
75. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-227.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 224-225.
77. *Arthasastra*, II. 2.
78. *Ibid.* R.S. Sharma, however, maintains that officers were paid in cash (*Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, 1966, p. 70.).
79. *Arthasastra*, II. 30. On the basis of his passage S.A.Q. Husaini (*op. cit.*, p. 162) argues that the existence of land tenure based on military service, which is considered by orthodox historians as the most essential element of feudalism, exsisted in the Mauryan period. But just on the basis of a single passage that too pertaining to one of the diverse aspects of this phenomena, one should not conclude that there were traces of feudalism in the Mauryan india.
80. D.D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 232.
81. Idem, *The Culture and Civilisation of Ancient Indian in Historical Outline*, p. 151.
82. *Ibid.*
83. cf. *Arthasastra*, VII. 1.
84. *Ibid.*, VII. 8. 14.
85. J. Bloch, *Les Inscriptions d' Asaka* (1950), p. 157.
86. *Asoka and the Decline of the Maurya* (1973), p 67. She bases her argument on Megasthenes' statement that military officers were paid in cash (Diodorus, II. 41'). We have, however, a definite evidence to the contrary in the *Arthasastra*, II. 2. Thapar too notices the prevalence of some sort of land grant during this period (*op. cit.*, p.67).
87. *Arthasastra*, II. 1.
88. *Ibid.*, V. 3.
89. D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, p. p. 225.
90. For the various uses of this tree, cf. D.D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

91. Cf. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, p. 4.
92. *Ibid.*, Vol. 10, p. 102; also see c. Sivaramamurti, *Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum* (Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, N.S. General Section, IV, 1956), p. 275.
93. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 8, no. 8 (10), 1.4.
94. D.D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-275.
95. L. Gopal, *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. VI, no.3 (1963), p. 306.
96. *Ibid.*, pp. 251-258. This stage of society, according to Kosambi, was "proto-feudal" (*Ibid.*, p. 255).
97. *Ibid.*, p. 295.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* (1959), pp. 222-223.
100. *Ibid.*
101. From Manu's dictum it is obvious that the sudras were not yet peasant-proprietors; they were simply, farm labourers, of. V.K. Thakur, 'Economic Condition of Surdas in Manu: A Study in Contemporary Class Structure', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LX, pts. 1-4, p. 146.
102. (tr. T.W. Rhys Davids) p. 147.
103. *Manusmṛti*, IX. 44. Also see D.D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 257.
104. Kosambi maintains that forest clearance was not possible without the help of the whole community (*Ibid.*, p. 257).
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106. *Ibid.*, no. 84, 1.4.
107. V.K. Thakur, *op. cit.*, p. 145.
108. R.S. Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India*, p. 178.
109. A recent work on the Lichchhavis confuses the hole issue cf. H.N. Jha, *The Lichchhavis* (1970), pp. 53-54.
110. Ho Chang-Chun, 'Fa-hsien's Pilgrimage to Buddhist Countries) *Chinese Literature* (1959), no. 3, p. 154.
111. *Manusmṛti*, VII. 115-120.
112. *Brhaspatismṛti*, XIX. 44.
113. J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* V l. III, no. 27 11. 21-22.
114. *Kamasutra*, V. 5.5. Also see V.K. Thakur, 'Forced Labour in the Gupta period, p. IHC, Session (Bhubaneshwar, 1977), pp. 147-148.
115. D.C. Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 422. 11. 26-29; *Raghyvamsa*, XVII. 66.
116. R.S. Sharma, *Light on Early Indian Society and Economy*, p. 80.
117. The Nandanpur Copper-plate inscription of the Gupta Era 169.
118. This negates Kosambi's hypothesis (*op. cit.*, p. 295) regarding "Feudalism from above".
119. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 80. From this development one can trace the origins of the bhumihara caste of Bihar and Eastern U.P.
120. Idem, *Indian Feudalism: C. 300-1200* (1965), pp. 45-46
121. J.F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 27. For details, cf. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.
122. V.K. Thakur, 'Origin of the Kayasthas: A Historical Probing', *Journal of Historical Research*, Vol. XIX, no. 2(Jan., 1977) pp. 39-40.
123. J.F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, no.31
124. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
125. *Markandeya Purana*, 49-49.
126. R.S. Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58.
127. *Epigraphia Indica*, XV, no.6.
128. *Yajnavalkya Smṛti*, II. 157-158.
129. *Brhaspati Smṛti*, XIX. 54-55.
130. R.S. Sharma, *Light on early Indian Society and Economy* pp. 83

131. This can be inferred from the rates of payment prescribed in *Brhaspati Smrti*, XVI, 1-2.
132. R.S. Sharma, *Sudras in Ancient India*, pp. 233-234.
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134. R.S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, pp. 60-62.
135. B.C. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* (1942), p. XII.
136. *Narada Smrti*, XIII. 38; *Brhaspati Smrti*, XXVI. 10,28,43,53-64.
137. *Narada Smrti*, XI. 23-24.

Bhuvanavijaya and Malayakuta Two Palaces of Sri Krishnadevaraya

Dr. C.V. Ramachandra Rao

Bhuvanavijaya and Malayakuta, the two well-known palaces of Krishnadevaraya, the Vijayanagar emperor, are not referred to or mentioned in any of the innumerable inscriptions of the times of the emperor or of his successors, immediate or distant. This statement is subject to correction by knowledgeable scholars. But these two palaces find prominent mention in the literature of the times of Krishnadevaraya. Of these two palaces, students of Vijayanagar history are more familiar with the Bhuvanavijaya. Bhuvanavijaya finds mention in the works of Peddana and Timmana, the two cardinal poets of the Raya's court. Peddana refers to it in his *magnum' opus*, the *Manucaritra*¹ and Timmana mentions it in his great work, the *Parijatapaharana*.^{1a} These two works are dedicated to the Raya. We find a fairly detailed account of Bhuvanavijaya in the narrative of Domingo Paes². The other palace Malayakuta is referred to by the poets Peddana and Timmana, each in a solitary verse, in their works the *Manucaritra* and the *Parijatapaharana*, respectively³. There is a description of Paes, which in all probability, refers to this palace⁴. There need not have been an enquiry into the existence of these palaces,—after all palaces are expected to be built by King and emperors—, but for the fact that the date of construction of these palaces, particularly of Bhuvanavijaya, helps us to fix the period of the eastern conquest of Krishnadevaraya. The different stages in which it was carried out on which scholars are at variance. It also helps us to know the probable dates of composition of the *Manucaritra* and the *Parijatapaharana*, and also of *Amuktamalyada*. If only we can find epigraphical evidence for the date of construction of Bhuvanavijaya, it will go a long way in fixing the chronology of certain important events in the illustrious career of emperor Sri Krishnadevaraya. Thus this paper is an exhortation to the epigraphist, to seek out the references which mention these two palaces and the date, probable or exact of their construction, in the Vijayanagar epigraphs, existing or forthcoming.

Paes calls the Bhuvanavijaya as “the House of Victory” and testifies that Krishnadevaraya built it after he returned from the war against the Gajapati ruler of Orissa. In the words of Paes, “This house is called the House of Victory, as it was made when the king came back from the war against Orya, as I have already told you”⁵. Paes gives a description of this building which

forms a part of the palace complex of Krishnadevaraya. Paes says: "passing this gate you have an open space and then you have another gate like the first, also with its doorkeepers and guards; and as soon as you enter inside this you have a large open space. And on one side and other are low verandahs where are seated the captains and chief people in order to witness the feasts, and on the left side of the north of this open space is a great one-storied building (*terrea*;) all the rest are like it. This building stands on pillars shaped like elephants and with other figures, and all open in front, and they go up to it by staircases of stone; around it, underneath, is a terrace (*corredor*) paved with very good flagstones, where stand some of the people looking at the feast. This house is called the House of Victory....."⁶ Also, "This building was all hung with rich cloths, both the walls and the ceiling, as well as the supports, and the cloths of the wall were adorned with figures in the manner of embroidery; these buildings have two platforms one above the other, beautifully sculptured, with their sides well made and worked, to which platforms the sons of the king's favourites come for the feasts, and some times his eunuchs. On the upper platforms, close to the king, was Christovao de Figueiredo, with all of us who came with him, for the king commanded that he should be put in such a place as best to see the feasts and magnificence"⁷

As to the references of the court-poets of Krishnadevaraya, Timmana in his *Parijatapaharana* describes the Raya as the morning sun who made the diamond-studded Bhuvanavijaya glow with light. *Bhuvanavijayakhyā sam-san—navaratna vibha prabhata nalinaptā*⁸. Peddana, in his *Manucaritra*, says that Krishnadevaraya commissioned him to write the *Svarocisa Manusambhava* or *Manucaitra*, while he was seated on the throne in the Bhuvanavijaya in the company of wise men, and enjoying to his heart's content the nectar of poetry (*Bhuvanavijayakhyā samsabhavanasthita bhrapithi prajñuls gosthin Kavitamadhurima dendum davulan goluvundi sadayatan namu balken*)⁹.

Among the ruins of Hampi, Bhuvanavijaya is identified by scholars with what is called the Dasaradibba or throne-platform. Longhurst, one of the earliest scholars to write on the Vijayanagar ruins, in his *Hampi Runis* (1925), has provided us with a well-illustrated and detailed description of the architectural grandeur and the sculptural wealth of the extant remains of this throne-platform, in several pages (pp 56-66). But, we have a succinct and vivid description of the architectural features of the extant remains of the House of Victory, in Percy Brown's *Indian Architecture*, which is as follows:

"The basement of the other building, the Throne Platform, presumably intended for private audiences, as in the previous example, is in three diminishing stages. Each square in plan, the side of the lowest being 132 feet and the uppermost 78 feet, access to the latter being obtained by stairways with the usual elephant decorated side-walls. There is even less evidence as to the type of pavilion which surmounted this broad expanse of masonry, but if it was as distinctive in style as the upper part of three stages, the one

on which it took it stand, it must indeed have been a work of surpassing elegance. This highest stage of the platform is in marked contrast to the two below, as these are merely plain masonry plinths, their part in the scheme being to raise the entire composition to a considerable height, the value of such a procedure in giving additional dignity to the whole being well understood by the builders. It is interesting to note however that for the edification of those lowly ones who were not admitted into the special audiences, the vertical retaining walls of both these lower platforms were converted into picture galleries by means of bands of figures and animals carved in bas-relief and of the most entertaining description. As a foil to this broad effect the uppermost stage was subjected to an entirely different treatment to prepare the eye for the noble superstructure it supported. Its horizontality is emphasised by a series of boldly moulded courses, sharply projected and fashioned out of lengths of stone like huge beams, carved and placed in position with a skill and precision showing long practice. As an effort at decoration of a purely architectural order this platform is a singularly effective production, in its handling not unlike some of the later workmanship of the Gothic style in Europe".¹⁰

The other palace Malayakuta finds mention in the works of *Peddana* and *Timmana*. From the description of this palace given by *Peddana* in his *Manucaritra* we are given to understand that it is the Queen's palace, the palace of *Tirumaladevi*, the elder queen of the *Raya*. *Peddana* says that *Krishnadevaraya* beguiled his time in Malayakuta, adorned with the impressions of lotus-like feet of *Tirumaladevi*, which looked like red lotuses (because of the red paint on her feet) amidst the figures of lotuses contrived with blue diamonds with which the palace was studded. (*Tirumaladevi caranodara laksakalpa kalpita sthalakamala sphurad— indivara bandhura harihayamani Malayakuta harmya vihari*)¹¹.

Timmana describes *Krishnadevaraya* as one who resides in the Malayakuta and fulfills the desires of the supplicants. (*Srisadanalocanabja dayasara marandapositarthi bhramarollasaguna Malayakutaprasada nivesa*)¹².

Referring to the Queen's palaces, *Paes* observes: "Each one of these wives has her house to herself, with the maidens and women of the chamber, and women guards and all other women servants necessary"¹³. Referring to a building, which is different from the House of Victory, but within the palace precincts, *Paes* says: "you must know that inside the palace that I have spoken of is the dwelling of the king and his wives and of the other women who serve them, as I have already said, who are twelve thousand in number; and they have an entrance to these rows of houses so that they can go inside. Between this palace and the House of Victory is a gate which serves as a passage to it"¹⁴. At another place in his narrative, *Paes* has given us a picture of the grandeur of the palace, which I venture to think, is none other than Malayakuta¹⁵. Mrs. Vasundhara Filliozat is of the opinion that his picture of

Paes refers to the Lotus Mahal¹⁵. There is a brief description of the ruins of this building, in Longhurst's *Hampi Ruins*¹⁷.

On the basis of the information garnered above, concerning the Bhuvanavijaya and the Malayakuta, the following statements may be brought under consideration by scholars.

1) Paes says that the House of Victory (Bhuvanavijaya) was built by the Raya after he (the Raya) came back from the war against Orya, I.e., Gajapati ruler of Orissa. He does not specify the particular war, among the many wars, of the Raya with the ruler of Orissa, after which the Raya took to the construction of Bhuvanavijaya. There is no basis for the assumption of scholars like Longhurst and Percy Brown, that this war refers to the capture of Udayagiri in A.D.1513,¹⁸ and that the construction of the palace was begun in that year or soon after.

2) The latest conquest of Krishnadevaraya that finds mention in the *Parijatapaharana* was that of Khammammet¹⁹. This conquest took place a little before Raya conquered Simhacalam and raised a pillar of victory at Pottunuru. The Raya was in Simhacalam on 26-3-1516²⁰. Therefore the capture of Khammammet may be placed in the latter half of A.D.1515. Malayakuta which appears to be an old palace already in existence was mentioned in the *Parijatapaharana* in the first verse of the second canto where as the Bhuvanavijaya is mentioned towards the very end of the work in the last but one verse of the fifth and last canto. If the order in which the two palaces are mentioned in this work has any significance, it may be said that the Bhuvanavijaya was completed by about the time the *Parijatapaharana* was also about to be completed by the poet. It may also be mentioned here that in the verse in which Timmana refers to the conquest of Khammammet by the Raya, he also says that the ruler of Utkala (i.e., Prataparudra Gajapati) was in constant dread of the intention of the Raya to march on Cuttack²¹. Therefore it may be said that the completion of the writing of *Parijatapaharana* and of the construction of Bhuvanavijaya took place at about the same time, i.e., the end or beginning of A.D.1515. We do not know the date of its commencement; it could have been after the capture of Udayagiri in A.D. 1513-1514, or after the capture of Kondavidi in June 1515.

3) The Raya commissioned Peddana to write *Manucaritra*, while he was in court in the Bhuvanavijaya². Therefore, the writing of the *Manucaritra* should have been commenced by Peddana some time after A.D.1515, the date by which Bhuvanavijaya is presumed to have been completed, as argued above. The latest conquest of the Raya mentioned in the *Manucaritra* by Peddana was the capture and burning of Cuttack²³. An inscription of the officer of Krishnadevaraya, from Kommuru in Guntur District, dated 12th March, 1517, mentions specifically that by that date the Raya conquered upto Cuttack (*Katakam meraganu*)²⁴. Therefore, it may be surmised that the *Manucaritra* was written sometime between A.D. 1515 and 1517.

4) As indicated in one of the prefatory verses in *Manucaritra*, Peddana, even by the time he was commissioned to write the *Manucuritra*, had borne the title of *Andhrakavitapitamaha*²⁵. So far, four inscriptions of Allasani Peddana have been discovered. They are from Melapadi (Chittor District) dated 17th April, 1518²⁵, from Kokatam (Cuddapah District) dated 25th April, 1518,²⁷ another also from the same place dated 15th October, 1518,²⁸ and from anniyur (South Arcot District) dated 6th November 1519.²⁹ Of these the epigraph of Kokatam finds mention in the *Kaifiyat of Kokatem* also.³⁰ Of these epigraphs, the Melapadi inscription dated 17th April, 1518 and the Anniyur inscription dated 6th November 1519 refer to Peddana by his famous title *Andhrakavitapitamaha*. Thus the earliest reference to this title of Peddana is dated 17th April 1518. It is also likely that Krishnadevaraya conferred this title on Peddana after the completion of the writing of *Manucaritra* and its dedication to him, and that Peddana incorporated it in the preface and colophons of the work, written subsequent to the main text.

The discovery of epigraphical and other evidences as to the date of construction of Bhuvanavijaya and Malayakuta will help in greater elucidation of the points discussed above. We may seek for these references in the Kannada and Tamil literary sources also as Telugu literary sources have alone been consulted in this paper.

References

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- 1a. *Parijatapaharanamu* (Vavilla Ed, 1960. Abbreviated as *Pari*), V. 110
2. *The Vijayanagar Empire* (Ed. Vasundhara Filliozat, 1977. Abbreviated as V. Filliozat), pp. 44-45; Sewell, *Forgotten Empire* (Reprint 1924, Abbreviated as Sewell), pp. 263, 264-265
3. *Manu*, III. 143; *Pari*, II. 1
4. V. Filliozat, pp. 63-68; Sewell, pp. 285-289
5. V. Filliozat, Sewell, p. 263
6. *Ibid*
7. V. Filliozat, P. 44; Sewell, p. 264
8. *Pari*, V. 110
9. *Manu*, I. 13
10. Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture* (Fourth Edition, 1959), pp. 93-94
11. *Manu*, 1,43

12. *Pari*, II, 1
13. V. Filliozat, p. 30; Sewell, p. 248
14. V. Filliozat, P. 45; Sewell, P. 264-265
15. V. Filliozat, pp. 63-68; Sewell, pp. 285-289
16. V. Filliozat, p. 63, p. 52
17. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, pp. 78-79
18. Percy Brown, *Op. Cit.* 93; Longhurst, *Op. Cit.* p. 57
19. *Pari*, I, 23
20. *South Indian Inscriptions*, VI, 696
21. *Pari*, I, 23
22. *Manu*, I, 13
23. *Ibid*, I, 37
24. *South Indian Inscriptions*, XVI, 59
25. *Manu*, I, 15
26. 105 of 1921
27. *South Indian Inscriptions*, XVI, 65
28. *Ibid*, XVI, 66
29. *Ibid*, XVI, 68
30. *Further Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Vol. II, pp. 173-174, "Kaifiyat of Kokatam", L. R. 10, pp. 99-100

Mughal Documents Relating to Land Revenue of the Andhra Districts of Northern *Sarkars* (1700-1765 A.D.).*

Dr. M.A. Nayeem

Introduction

In this paper an attempt is made to bring to light, for the first time, some Mughal documents of the first-half of 18th Century relating to the land revenue of the Andhra districts of the former five Northern *sarkars viz.*, Sicakul, Rajahmundry, Ellore, Murtazanagar (Guntur) and Mustafanagar (Kondapalli).

Before, I proceed to analyse the Mughal documents, it may be mentioned that much work has been done on the land revenue administration or the agrarian relations of the individual *sarkars* or the Northern *sarkars* as a whole. Some of the works are James Grant, Firminagar, Badan Powell¹ etc. And the recent works are those of Dr. Lanka Sundaram² and Dr. Pattabhirama Reddy³ to cite a few only. But all these works deal with the British period when the Northern *sarkars* came under British administration in 1765.

While Dr. Jhon F. Richard's work⁴ covers the Mughal administration of Northern *sarkars* during the last-quarter of 17th Century. However, the work of Dr. Richards, as far as Northern *sarkars* are concerned is entirely based on Aurangzeb's Revenue Settlement of 1689-90 and it does not seem to refer to any 18th Century documents.

Thus, there is a lacuna of first sixty-five years of 18th Century, as there is no proper study on the land revenue administration of the Northern *sarkars* covering this period. And this paper is an humble attempt to cover the lacuna partially.

* Enlarged version of the paper read at the IV Session of the Andhra Pradesh History Congress, (Chirala), 1979.

For more elaborate details see my work-“Mughal Administration of Deccan Under Nizamul-Mulk Asaf Jah I (1720-48)” (Under-Publication by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi-submitted in 1980).

Mughal Agrarian System in the Northern *sarkars*.

The Mughal system of land revenue administration was first introduced in the Northern *sarkars* when it came under the Mughal suzerainty following the conquest of Golconda kingdom by Aurangzeb in 1687. The Northern *sarkars* were included in the Mughal *suba* of Hyderabad.

In 1689-90 Muhammed Shafi, *diwan* of the Mughal *suba* of Hyderabad, made a settlement of land revenues⁵. For this settlement, the revenue *jama-i-kamil*⁵ of the six provinces of the Mughal Deccan was fixed. The *jama-i-kamil* figures fixed in 1689-90 for each and every *pargana* and *sarkars* of the entire Deccan have been compiled early in 18th Century circa 1115-16 F/ 1705-07 in *Deh-be-dehi*⁷. The *Jama-i-kamil* figures of *Deh-be-dehi* are identical with those given in the documents of Aurangzeb's 32nd Regnal year⁸.

The *jama-i-kamil* figures listed in *Deh-be-dehi* form the basis for any study of the land revenue administration of the Northern *sarkars* during the 18th Century. Further, the figures of *Deh-be-dehi* are almost identical, with minor differences in some cases, with those given in *Sawanih-Deccan*,⁹ compiled in the second half of 18th Century.

The very same figures of *jama-i-kamil* of the *Deh-be-dehi* are cited in the Mughal documents of 18th Century as the opening basis for the *iamabandi* or fixation of land revenue.

A comparative statement of the *jama-i-kamil* figures for the Northern *sarkars* from the manuscript sources and the documents is given in Table I. It will be evident that there was no change in the *jama* figures during the six decades and that the figures arrived at during the 32nd Regnal Year of Aurangzeb in the 17th Century were effective seven decades later. Of course, there were minor variations in some cases, but they are comparatively negligible.

Nature of the Mughal Documents.

The documents, discussed here, are in Persian *shikasta*, a cursive script and have been hitherto unknown and unused by any scholar. The documents are in the nature of *Tumar wasilath*, *Tumar wasul-i-kham*, *Haqiqat-Daul Jamabandi* of *mal-wo-jihat* and *sari-wo-jihat*, *Jama-Wasul-Baqi*, *Tumar-i-Jamabandi* etc.

One set of documents furnish *pargana*-wise details of the amounts of *jama-i-kamil* or simply *kamil*, *jamabandi* and the receipts. The second set of documents furnish particulars of the amount of *kham*¹⁰, fixed for each *pargana*; and the break-up of the *kham* amount into the following sub-heads:

[illegible]

The endorsement on it reads: "With the consent of the zamindars and approval of the majmuadar and deshpandia" of the said place.

— 1933 —

SECRET

117583606

*Bi-lingual document of
revenue receipts of sarkar
Rajahmundry, province of
Hyderabad for the 1157.
(1748-49)*

TABLE I

Comparative Statement Showing the *Jama-i-Kamil* Statistics of Rajahmundry and Ellore sarkars (1707—1750) from Manuscript Sources & the Documents.

<i>Sarkar/Pargana</i> (No. of Mahals)	<i>Jama</i> <i>Deh-be-dehi</i> Ms.	<i>Jama</i> <i>Sawaneh</i> <i>Deccan</i> Ms.	<i>Jama</i> Document 1155 F.
1	2	3	4
	Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps.
<i>S-**Rajahmundry & Ellore</i> (36 Mahals)	—	—	12,49,165/ 5/6
I. S-Rajahmundry (24 Mahals)	6,85,509/10/-	6,85,529/ -/6	6,85,529/10/6
H. Rajahmundry	50,311/ 6/6	50,311/ 6/6	
Agrahar (2M) & Sarwar	59,153/ 7/-	59,153/ 7/-	
Taribak (Tali pak)	36,077/ 3/7	36,070/ 3/3	
Korkonda	39,664/ 7/3	39,664/ 7/3	
Bankri (Sekri)	1,723/11/-	1,723/11/-	
Kolrad (Moler)	5,955/ -/-	5,955/ -/-	
Kodalwari Konda (Palwari Kota)	14,730/ -/-	14,730/ -/-	
Chirla Palli	5,130/ -/-	5,130/ -/-	
Tikob Beloul	36,431/ 6/3	36,451/ 6/3	
Lorlodi Dudi Bodi	32,600/15/9	32,600/15/9	
Kale Bard Song (2 M)	14,455/ 8/-	—	
Karmur	49,185/10/6	—	
Binalur Balha Pur	56,731/10/6	56,738/11/8	
Ja'la'bar Chankelhar	17,321/4 /-	17,321/ 4/-	
Antkal Ankota Ain Kota	53,855/ -/-	53,750/ -/-	
Armal Kotah	28,545/ -/-	2,545/ 8/-	
II. Ellore (12 Mahals)	5,53,252/ 2/-	—	

1	2	3	4
H .(Ellore	1,41,039/ -/-	1,41,369/12/9	
Kund Kol (Kod Kol)	45,000/ -/-	45,000/ -/-	
Nathabar (Silahabad)	31,344/ 9/-	31,344/ -/-	
Apla Data & Eli Dasar (2M)	1,06,200/ -/-	1,07,190/ 9/6	
Kaji Malwa (Kanjkoh)	32,010/ -/-	32,020/ -/-	
Ondih	39,669/ -/-	40,014/ -/-	
Lodatla (Dudi Bela)	21,000/ -/-	21,000/ -/-	
Sardawal (Nirdawal)	63,074/ 5/6	63,601/4/-	
Kodadrud	255/00/-	—	
Chamak Koda (Chel Bodi)	12,000/ 7/-	12,591/ -/-	
Bahar Chakli	36,415/ 4/6	—	

* Source: (Document Nos. 101 and 192 dt. 1155 F.— *Jama Wasul Baqi*, suba Hyderabad State Archives, Hyderabad,)

** Abbreviahas;

S = *sarkar* (District)

H = *Haveli* — Capital of the *sarkar*.

M = *Mahal* = *Pargana*

land-revenue, *nazr-sarkar*¹, *muqarrari*¹², *tahrir-i-mutasaddis*³, *itlaq*¹⁴ and *khwu-rakh*¹⁵.

The third type of documents give details of the *jamabandi* of the *Khalisa mahals* and the *Jagir Sarkar mahals*.¹⁶ The fourth category of the documents lists out the names of *amihs* or the revenue collectors with the amount against each who were entrusted with the *ijara* or contract for the revenue collection. The fifth type of documents give the details of *jama* receipts and balances of the revenue of *mal-wo-jihat* and *sair-ul-jihat*

Analysis of the Documents

A document⁷ furnishes details of the *jama-i-kami*, *jamabandi* and the receipts of the 39 villages of *sarkar* Rajahmundry for the year 1150 F (1741-42) tabulated in Table II. Out of the total amount of Rs 1600/-/- of the *jamabandi* Rs 5000/4/- are shown as towards *chauth*¹⁸ and the remaining Rs 12000/12/- as the share of the *jagirdar*. Out of this Rs. 1529/- was *mal* or the land revenue and the remaining is shown as *Sair*¹⁹. A study of the percentage of the *jamabandi* fixed for 39 villages reveal that the rate of fixation of the land revenue was neither uniform nor constant for all the villages of a single *sarkar*. The rate varied from as low as 3.3% to as high as 68%. The document does not give any explanation for this disparity in rate of fixation of the land revenue. It is noted that in majority of cases the rate is more than 50%. Only in the case of 8 villages the rate is more than 50%. The standard Mughal rule was to collect one-half of the produce as the land revenue. But in the present case it is observed that the standard principle was not applied. The lower fixation less than the 50% of the *kamil* might have been done after taking into consideration the factors which contributed to the produce of the soil.

The same document also gives the amount of *sair* from the 39 villages of *sarkar* Rajahmundry at *kamil* Rs. 858/12/-. Out of this amount, Rs. 390/- are shown as the actual amount of *sair* i.e., 45%; while the remaining Rs. 97/8/- i.e., 25% are towards *chauth* for the Marathas. The balance of the *sair* amount Rs. 292/8/- i.e., 20% was the actually the amount which reached the Mughal Government as revenue.

A document²⁰ of 1140 F. (1731 - 32) classifies the *sarkars* of Rajahmundry, Ellore, and part of Machilpattam into *khalisa* and *jagir mahals*, as shown in Table III. The total *kamil* amount for the 39 *mahals* is stated at Rs. 12, 98, 953/3/7. Based on this *kamil* amount, the *jamabandi* for the land revenue was fixed at Rs. 8,67,850/8/3. The assessment works out to 66%.

Another document²¹ furnishes details (Table IV) of the *Kham* or the gross revenue receipts direct from the cultivators accruing from the 28 *mauzas* of *sarkar* Rajahmundry and its surroundings for the 10 1/2 months of

TABLE II

Statement showing the Gross Revenue, *Jamabandi* and Receipts from the villages of *sarkar* Rajahmundry for the year 1150 F. (1741-42)

<i>Qasaba</i>	<i>Kamil</i>	Present (<i>hal</i>) <i>Jamabandi</i>	<i>Wasul</i>	Percentage of <i>Jamabandi</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1. Karoli	597/ 5/7	140/-/-	140/-/-	(23.436 %)
2. Brijdapur	556/14/9	130/-/-	130/-/-	(23.345 %)
3. B Undelgaon	575/ 8/-	125/-/-	125/-/-	(21.720 %)
4. Nagal Palli	692/11/6	18/-/-	18/-/-	—
5. Med Palli	940/ 8/6	480/-/-	480/-/-	(51.033 %)
6. Omel	1,633/10/6	430/-/-	430/-/-	(26.321 %)
7. Wanka Palli	4,000/ -/-	360/-/-	360/-/-	(9 %)
8. Qut Palli	1,119/ 3/-	360/-	360/-/-	(32.165 %)
9. Chekrawal	846/ 9/6	250/-/-	250/-/-	(29.531 %)
10. Neme Palli	929/10/9	375/-/-	375/-/-	(40.365 %)
11. Lakha Pur	477/ 9/-	175/-/-	175/-/-	(36.645 %)
12. Ant Wari	272/11/6	95/-/-	95/-/-	(34.842 %)
13. Medkonda	377/10	70/-/-	70/-/-	(18.535 %)
14. Rakhma Pur	204/11/3	90/-/-	90/-/-	(37.397 %)
15. Fatula Pur	1,133/ 8/-	620/-/-	620/-/-	(8054.697 %)
16. Mamer Palli	640/15/3	380/8/-	380/8/-	(59.365 %)
17. Madhwar	1,090/ -/-	600/-/-	600/-/-	(55.045 %)
18. Durga Pur	494/ 6/6	110/-/-	110/-/-	(22.249 %)
19. Sultan Pur	943/ 6/6	375/-/-	375/-/-	(39.794 %)
20. Narain Pur	1,425/ 3/3	710/-/-	710/-/-	(49.816 %)
21. Ragh Pur	275/ 8/-	810/-/-	810/-/-	(65.335 %)

1	2	3	4	5
22. Govind Pur	304/10/-	510/-/-	150/-/-	(49.342%)
23. Dosda Pur	693/ 2/3	370/-/-	370/-/-	(53.379%)
24. Khudawand Pur	338/14/-	180/-/-	180/-/-	—
25. Sharfuddin Pur	148/ 2/-	67/-	67/-	(45. 20%)
26. Chancha Palli	505/ 6/3	92/-	92/-	(18. 20%)
27. Kangwar	155/ 3	20/-	20/-	(12.884%)
28. Kishnapur	1,800/ 3/-	1,240/ 8/-	1,240/ 8/-	(68.909%)
29. Chakonda	2(690/ 2/6	975	975	(36.242%)
30. Kodur	1,236/ 2/3	560	560	(45.300%)
31. Jafar Palli	498/ 3/-	150	150	(30.662%)
32. Antwaram	652/11/9	380/-	380/-	(58.224%)
33. Antsagar	469/11/-	230/-	230/-	(46.972%)
34. Rawal Palli	286/12/6	110	110	(38; 75%)
35. Naraingpet Pet	303/ 6/9	72/-	72/-	(23.730%)
36. Kod Palli	2,025/ -/-	160/-	/160-	(7.901%)
37. Mata Pur	387/ 2/6	63/-/-	63/-/-	(16.269%)
38. Teja Pur	162/ 8/-	18/-	18/-	(11.076%)
39. Timmapur	89/ 5/6	3/-/-	3/-/-	(3.357%)

Sair etc.

Kamil: Rs. 858/12/-

Jamabandi: Rs. 390/-/- (45.44%)

Wasul: Rs. 390/-/-

Chauth Rs. 97/8/- (25%)

Jagirdar Rs. 292/8/-

(Source: Document No. 192 — *Tumar Wasilath, sarkar Rajahmundry*,
State Archives, Hyderabad.)

TABLE III

Statement showing the distribution of Revenue into *Khalisa Mahals* and *Jagir-Sarkar* in the *sarkars* of Rajahmundry, Ellore and Machilipatnam. 1140 F. (1731-32).

<i>Sarkar</i>	<i>Mahals</i>		<i>Kamil</i> Rs.as. Rs.	<i>Khalisa Mahals</i> Rs.as.p.s	<i>Jagir Sarkar</i> Rs.as.p.s	<i>Jamabandi.</i> <i>Huns</i> (Rs.)
	<i>Khalisa</i>	<i>Jagir</i>				
Rajahmundry etc.	34	39	12,98,953/ 3/3	47,668/ 4/3	1,51,284/ 15/-	2,47,957/ 5/3 (Rs. 867850. 55) (66%)
Rajahmundry	19	24	6,85,529/10/6	5,34,244/11/6	1,51,284/ -/-	1,56,189/14/3 (Rs. 546664. 47)
Ellore	12		5,63,645/11/-	balance <i>Huns.</i> 80,378/11/-	<i>Jagir Pratab-Ram Huns.</i> 6,707/13/-	87,685/ 3/3 (Rs. 306897. 5)
Narapur	3		49,777/ 3/3			40,082/ 4/3 (Rs. 140289. 24)

(Source : Document No. 38-Omelan, *Haqiqat Daul Jamabandi*, 1140 F. State Archives, Hyderabad.)

1157 F. (1748-49). Of the total amount of *huns* 1,03, 631/2/6, the amount of land revenue is stated at *huns* 77,692/11/3, i.e., 75%; and the balance of 25% was distributed as follows: *nazr Sarkar huns* 19,693/14/3, i.e., 19%; *muqarrari huns* 3,797/14/3 i.e., 3.6%; *tahrir mutasaddis huns* 1513/8/- i.e., 1.4%; and *italq* and *khwurakh huns* 933/2/6 i.e., 1%. In the last item, the share of *italq* is *huns* 715, i.e., 76%.

Though the land revenue was collected from all the 28 villages, but the *nazr Sarkar* was not levied from all the 16 villages. Likewise, the other three levies were not imposed on all the villages, as evident from Table IV.

However, in the case of Ellore, it is noted, from another document²² of the same year, that the rate of levies of the *Kham* varied from that levied in the *sarkar* Rajahmundry, as evident from Table V. In the case of Ellore, the land revenue is 92% of the total amount of *Kham*; whereas, it is 75% in the case of Rajahmundry (Table IV). The *nazr Sarkar* is only 3%; whereas in the case of Rajahmundry it is 19%. The rate of *muqarrari* is same 3.6% in both the cases. However, the rate of the *tahrir mutasaddis* is 0.1%; while in case of Rajahmundry it is 1.4%. The rate for *italaq* is almost same in both the cases.

A comparative study Table (IV and V) of the rates for the two *sarkars* reveals that uniformity did not exist. This disparity in rates might be due to different rates of fixation made by the two *amils* or revenue collectors of the two *sarkars*. Obviously, the Government had fixed the total amount of revenue to be collected and might have left to the discretion of the *amils* to fix the break-up of different levies. This is only an inference yet to be substantiated by a documentary evidence.

For the collection of land revenue, specially from the *khalisa* and *jagir mahals*, the system of *ijara* or revenue farming was generally adopted. The *ijaradar* acted as an intermediary for collecting land revenue and had no proprietary right in the land. The *ijaradar* was supposed to pay the fixed amount as stipulated in the agreement (*ta'ahud*) without any reference to increase or decrease in the collections. He remitted the stipulated amount in convenient instalments, as agreed upon, with the Government. For the services rendered, the *ijaradar* derived financial benefits from the revenue collected and deducted on account of *tankhwah* and *sihbandi*.²³ Consequently, the full amount of revenue collected by the revenue farmer did not reach the Government treasury.

From a document²⁴ of 1158 F. (1748-49) it is noted that Mukhtar Khan, *amil*, was assigned the *ijara* of the revenues of the 4 *mahals* of *sarkar* Murtazanagar. The *kamil* amount of the *ijara* is stated at Rs. 11,48,610/14/9; and based on this the *ta'ahud* was fixed at *huns* 1,40,000/= (Rs. 4, 90 000/=) i.e., 42.6%. Out of the receipts of *huns* 26,666/15/- (Rs. 93,334/5/-,

TABLE IV

Statement Showing the Gross Revenue Receipts (*Kham* of *Mal* and *Sair*) from *sarkar* Rajahmundry & the environs for 10 1/2 Month of the year 1157 Fasi (1748-49) under Mir Mahmud Khalil Khan, *amil*.

Sarkar/Pargana (S) (P)	Total Amount <i>Huns</i>	Ain (Land Revenue)	Nazr Sarkar	Muqurrari	Mutasaddis	Itlaq. Itlaq etc.	Itlaq. Khurah.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
S. Rajahmundry & the Surroundings.	1,03,631/ 2/6	77,692/11/3d (75%)	19,693/14/3 (19%)	3,797/14/3d (3.6%)	1,513/8/- (1.4%)	996/2/6 715/1/-	(1%) 281/1/6
1. P. Bathapur	15,978/11/9	13,925/10/-	1,349/ 4/6	332/13/-	—	—	—
2. Kotmur	—	9,505/ 5/6	963/12/-	488/4/-	—	—	—
3. —(2 <i>Mahals</i>)	7,033/ 8/3	6,749/13/3	—	283/11	—	—	—
4. <i>Qas.ba</i> Rajahmundry	2,033/ 4/3	2,959/9/ 6	—	37/11/-	495/-/-	143/11/6	45/11/-
6. Tarpak (Talipak)	8,571/ 5/3	4,581/11/9	3,213/12/6	340/10/6	260/-/-	155/1/-	20/1/6
7. Mohta Mumerpura	3,185/ 6/9	2,808/ -/9	200/ -/-	113/ 2/6	—	60/7/6	3/12/-
8. Keshusitaran	2,655/12/7	2,655/13/3	—	—	—	—	—
9. Korkonda	6,344/13/9	4,750/ 2/-	1,200/-/-	92/ 9/3	148/-/-	121/13/3	32/5/-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10. P. Warar Munmalla	1,594/9/-	1,820/13/3	673/6/-	87/2/6	134/-/-	51/-/-	25/2/3
11. P. Nikul	5,287/10/6	2,738/14/6	2,122/2/6	216/9/6	210/-/-	—	—
12. P. Mohta	—	2,534/2/6	2,374/14/3	190/4/9	210/-/-	—	—
13. Kamalwadi Kothan	5,080/8/-	4,243/14/6	600/-/-	182/4	—	42/-	12/5/6
14. Kolad Karkheli	1,008/1/9	394/12/6	375/-/-	40/8/7	56/8/6	71/5	70/-
15. Khangaltas	2,203/3/-	123/13/-	867/6/-	104/-	—	—	—
16. Mochachallapalli	2,670/12/-	2,573/15/3	—	—	—	—	—
17. Mauza Nurand	702/8/-	677/-/3	—	25/7/9	—	—	—
18. Motha Karim	—	814/13/9	—	30/10/3	—	—	—
19. Mauza Gopal P. Ili	405/15/-	386/-/-	—	4/9/-	—	—	—
20. Mauza Koli etc.	496/-/-	477/14/-	—	18/2/-	—	—	—
21. Mauza Bayar Wara	322/8/3	310/3/6	—	12/4/9	—	—	—
22. Mauza Balashwar	278/8	278/8/-	—	—	—	—	—
23. Nilvim Kos Palam	218/-/-	210/-/-	—	8/3/6	—	—	—
24. Mauza Venkat Palam	203/11/-/-	203/11/-	—	—	—	—	—

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
25. Mauza Ainwo palli	348/ 8/-	348/8/-	—	—	—	—	—
26. Peddam pondi	157/ 9/7	157/ 3/-	—	—	—	—	—
27. M. Babak palli	308/ 4/-	308/4/-	—	—	—	—	—
28. Urannasapur Oundla Pur.	121/ -/-	12/ -/-	—	—	—	—	—

(Source : Document No. 256, dt.1157 F. *Tumar Wasilath-i-Kham*, *sarkar Rajahmundry* and *muzaf*, State Archives, Hyderabad)

TABLE V

Statement Showing the Gross Revenue Receipts (*Kham*) of *Mal* and *Sair* from *sarkar* Ellore and the surroundings for the 3 months of the year* 1157 F. (1748-49) under Mir Md.Ibrahim, *amil*.

<i>Sarkar/Pargana</i>	Total Amount		<i>Ain</i> Land Revenue		<i>Nazr</i> Sarkar		<i>Tehrir</i> <i>Mutasaddis</i>		<i>Maqarrari</i>		<i>Itlaq</i>		<i>Itlaq etc</i>		<i>khwurakh</i>
	Huns		Huns.		Huns.		Huns		Huns.		Huns		Huns.		
S. Ellore	30,819/	7/6	28,358/	9/ 3	978/	3/3	6/-	1,129/	12/9	268/	2/9	346/	14/-	78/	11/3
			(92%)		(3%)		(.019%)		(3.6%)				(1.1.)		
1. P.H.Ellore**	4,626/	15/9	4,457/	9/-	—	—	—	169/	15/-	—	—	269/	2/3	—	—
2. P. Kanda Kala 4M, maozas)	7,669/	2/3	7,131/	12	—	—	—	268/	4	202/	8/3	—	—	67/	10/-
3. Chel Bodi & Timma-dur etc; (1M, 6M)	550/-	-	530/	9/-	—	—	—	19/	15/3	—	—	—	—	—	—
4. P. Kanch Koli (1M)	4,065/	7/6	3,843/	2/6	—	—	—	144/	9/3	66/	10/6	—	—	11/	1/3/-
5. P. Eli Dasar (2M)	101/-	-	9,849/	8	—	—	—	394/	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
6. ndi (2M)	2,232/	5/-	1,173/	3/-	978/	3/3	—	81/	1/6	—	—	—	—	—	—
7. Govari	1,432/	7/9	1,374/	8/6	—	—	6/-	51/	15/3	—	—	—	—	—	—

*Period from 22nd Rajab 1161 to 29th Ramadan 1161 H. (1748 - 49)

**Less 22 *mauzas* (m) of the *Zamindar* Umarpet, *ta'aluqa* Appa Rao.
Less 6 *mauzas* of the *Zamindar* Temapur for *ta'aluqa* Shamk Rao.

(Source : Document No. 255 dt. 1157 F. *Tumar Wasilth-i-Kham sarkar Ellore & muzaf, suba Hyderabad*, State Archives Hyderabad.)

for the year 1158 F., the amount credited into the Mughal treasury is shown) as *huns* 20,000/ (Rs. 70,000/). The balance of *huns* 6,666/10/- (Rs. 23,334/5/6) were retained by the *ijaradar* and accounted as expenses towards the *sihbandi*. That is 25% of the receipts were retained. Similar practice is found in case of other *sarkars*.

From a document²⁵ of 1155F (1748-49) it noticed that Khwaja Nima-tullah Khan was assigned the revenue collection of the *sarkars* of Rajah-amundry, Ellore and Mustafanagar, consisting of 50 *mahals*. The amount of *kamil* assessment was Rs. 23,23,344/15. The *ta'ahud* was assigned for *huns* 580/421/12/-. The agreement for the 36 *mahals* of *sarkar* Rajahmundry and Ellore was *hun* 4,55,421/12/- for the *kanil* amount of Rs. 12,49,165/5/6. While the agreement for the *sarkar* of Mustafanagar was Rs. 125,000. On the whole, for the three *sarkars* the receipts were *huns* 1,92,288/12/6. Out of these receipts the amount credited into the treasury was *huns* 1,47,288/12/6. Again out of this the actual credit into Government account was *huns* 1,20,000 and balance i.e. *huns* 27,288/12/6 were towards salary etc., of the staff employed for the collections. The balance of the total receipt, *huns* 45,000 were spent towards the deployment of the *sihbandi* troops to effect the collection. The balance of the total amount of contract i.e. *huns* 3,88,132/115/6 was yet to be collected, out of this amount *huns* 92,355 were towards the expenditure of *sihbandi*.

The *jama-i-kamil* figure having been already established by the Revenue Settlement of 1698—90 the *jamabandi* or the land revenue to be imposed was then fixed taking into account several factors. Documentary evidence show that the *jamabandi* was always less than the *jama-i-kamil* figure. The two figures were never equal. Further, the *jamabandi* was fixed with the approval of the *zamindars* or the cultivators and with the consent of the various village officials, with the approval of the *qazi* of the village. All those who have agreed to pay the stipulated land revenue had to sign the document consenting to pay the revenue. The document was then attested by the *qazi* with his own seal. This practice is evident from several documents, having the endorsement of the village officials either in Marathi Modi script or in Telugu Kalpirata. Two documents of *sarkars* Mustafanagar and Rajahmundry are illustrated here to elucidate the point²⁶.

Similar procedure was adopted in the case of land revenue collected by the *ijaradar*. Whatever land revenue the *ijaradar* exacted or collected from the *zamindars*, it had to be consented by the *zamindars* and approved by several of the village officials. The practice is evident from several documents. A document⁷ relating to the *mauza* Mariwara and Palliparwa of *pargana* Oder, *sarkar* Murtazanagar, states that the *ijara* for the collection of the revenue was assigned to one Uder Singh, for the period of 3 years from 1142 F. to 1144 F. (1734—36) at a stipulated amount of *huns* 2,869/8/4. The amount realised for the 3 years was as follows: *huns* 770/12/3; 744/9/3

and 1353/11/1 respectively. These amounts the *ijaradar* realised with the consent and approval of the following officials, whose signatures appear on the document: Elji Ram Rao, *chaudri*; Kishnama and Venkatia, *deshpandias*; Bhawani Das, *gumashta*; Ranganth, *ganungo* and *kulkarni*; and Veerappa, *majmuadar* of the said *pargana*. Their signatures were affixed in the presence of the *qazi*, who attested it with his own seal.

Conclusion

From the study of the documents cited above, the following facts emerge:

1) That during the 18th Century, the *jama-i-kamil* and *jamabandi* were two distinct figures. The *kamil* was always higher than the *jamabandi*. The difference between the two figures was the share of the *zamindar* for his livelihood. And the *jamabandi*, when realised, became the established collection figure (*muqarrara hasil*) in rupees. The difference in the amounts of *kamil* and *jamabandi* given in Table II and III show clearly that they were two distinct items. That is, the 'assessment' (*jama*) and 'receipts' (*equal to the jamabandi*) were never identical, as concluded by Dr. John F. Richards²⁸. Further his following conclusion also does not appear to be true: "by the second decade of the eighteenth Century the 'established collection' figures arrived at in the 1689-90 Settlement were transformed into' a single assessment figure: the *jakam-i-kamil* attached to every village *pargana* and district in the province"²⁹. If the two figures i.e., *kamil* and *hasil* had become one, then there would not have been an need at all for any *jamabandi* for the exaction of revenue. Had the full amount been exacted then, nothing would have been left for the subsistence of the cultivator. But this is not the case, as proved by scroes of documents.³⁰

This inference of Dr. Richards is due to his conception that the settlement figures of 1689-90 are different from the figures of *Deh-Jahra*; and he thinks that the latter was compiled in the early 1720's. This is not the case. Dr. Richards has not referred to the main Ms., *Deh-be-Dehi* containing the Settlement of 1689-90, of the 6 *subas* of the entire Deccan, whose compilation was initiated during Aurangzeb's reign and completed just after his death. Instead, Dr. Richards has consulted *Deh-Jahra Farkhonda Bonyad*; a latter transcription of the main *Deh-be-Dehi* but relating only to the *suba* of Hyderabad. The figures in the *Deh-Jahra* are extracts from the *Deh-be-Dehi* which contains the Settlement figures of 1689-90. Hence, it seems not proper to conclude that the *Kamil* figures were transformed into "a single assessment figures". Moreover, this is also disproved by the documents having both *kamil* and *jamabandi* figures.

2) That the *jamabandi* or the revenue collection was not always one-half or 50%; but varied from 3% to 68%, depending upon the local conditions etc.

3) That the *jama-i-kamil* figures of the late 17th Century, remained in constant use during the 18th Century and formed the opening basis for all assessment and fixation of revenue in the Deccan.

4) That in case of revenue farming, the entire amount of the revenues collected did not reach the Mughal treasury. Out of the gross receipts, 25% went to the Marathas as *chauth*; and almost the same percentage went to the *ijaradar* towards *tankhwah* and *sihbandi* expenses. Thus, the net receipts in the Government treasury was about 50% of the actual collection.

5) That in the case of *kham*, besides the land revenue, other taxes were also exacted, such as, *nazr-Sarkar*, *muqarrari*, *tahrir-mutasaddis*, *itlaq* and *khwurakh*.

6) That the land revenue was not exacted by the Mughal Government or by his agents arbitrarily or forcibly, but with the consent of the *zamindar* and other local village officials who accepted and agreed to pay the amount of revenue levied. This is evident from the bilingual documents illustrated here. And as a corollary it may be inferred that the revenue levied was not beyond the paying capacity of the *zamindar* or the cultivator and that sufficient quantum was left for thier subsistence.

7) As a corollary to the above inferences, in the light of the documentary evidence, we may conclude that the *jamabandi* or the revenue exacted was far below the *jama-i-kamil*. Hence the report of James Grant is not tenable, who wrote: "For seven years the complete anarchy recorded in the history of Hindustan prevailed over all the five Northern *sarkars*. Even the remembrance of civil government seemed to be wholly lost. Lords became vassals, renters were called proprietors, and *amildars* changed conditions with the inferior officers by accepting *zamindar* in *russooms* or a year's acknowledgement to lesson the recorded value and standing revenue of the lands".³¹ This report is apparently distortion of facts on political grounds. Probably an exaggeration of some stray incidence.

Again the following statement of James Grant is disproved by the documentary evidence: "Mussulman depravity, indolence and ignorance, soon made it necessary to recur to the ancient system of finance, through the agency of Hindoo farmers in general - when civil restraints left all controuling influence and thus the creation of new *zamindars* was, in a few years, productive of fresh disorders under similar circumstances, through out the whole extent of the northern circars"³². Documentary evidence show existence of perfect financial administration under the muslim rulers³³.

Numerous documents giving details of regular collection of land revenue from all the districts are an evidence that no anarchy prevailed in these districts, nor the *zaminders* had become rebellions or refractory.

References and Notes

1. James Grant : *Political Survey of the Northern Sarkars*, cited by V.W.K. Firminger (ed): *The Fifth Report-Affairs of the East India Company*, Vol.II (p. 139); Vol III (p.15), Calcutta, 1918; B.H.Baden Powell : *The Land System of British India*, Vol. III (New Delhi, 1974). *Madras District Gazetteers* for different districts.
2. "The Revenue Administration of Northern Sarkars": *Journal of Andhra Historical Society*, 1938.
3. *East India Company in Andhra with Special Reference to Agrarian Relations (1760-1800)*. Thesis (Unpublished).
4. *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, (Oxford, 1975)
5. Document No. (New) I/32/0-25 to 125.(Inayat Jung Collection, National Archives of India); Dr. Richards, op. cit., P. 147f.
6. *Jam-i-kamil* is the standard assessment of revenue—*Willson's Glossary*, P. 358.
7. Persian Ms., No. 373, State Arvhives, Hyderabad. (Heerin after abbreviated as S.A.H.)
8. Document No. (New) I/32/0-95 to 125. (Inayat Jnng Collection)
9. Persian Ms. No. 420., S.A.H.
10. *Kham* - Gross Revenue - also a settlement-collection made direct with the cultivators, *Wilson's*, P.431
11. Present or offering to the Emperor. Sarkar implies Emperor. It is different from the *sarkar* which means district or a revenue division.
12. Fixed revenue payable to the Government. Also, the *zamindars* who paid *peshkash*^h or tribute are described as *peshkashi*, *muquarrari* and *ghair amali* - Dr. Noman Ahmad Siddiqi: *Land Revenue Administration Under the Mughals (1700 - 1750)*, Aligarh, P.22.
13. A fee for the writer or clerk.
14. A fee for the summons - *Wilson's*, P. 346
15. Subsistance money paid by the villagers to menial servants employed to collect the government dues - *Wilson's*, P. 452
16. *Mal* signfied the original assessment of the land revene and *Jihat* were taxes collected to meet the expenses incurred on the assessment of *mal*. *Sair-wo-jihat* were the other taxes, collected over and above the *mal-wo-jihat*. Noman Siddiopi-an, 418
17. Document No. 192- *Tumar Wasilath-i-sarkar Rajahmundry*. S.A.H.
18. For details on *chauth* see my article: "The Working System of *Chauth* and *Sardesh-mukhi* within the Mughal Provinces of the Deccan (1707 - 1800) the *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, April. 1977 (Vol. XIV No. 2.)
19. The document is partly damaged - some figures are not clear.

- 20 Document No. 311 - *Haqiqat-i-Daul* Jamabandi Omelran, S.A.H
21. Document No. 256 - *Tumar Wasilath-i-Kham*, S.A.H.
22. Document No. 278 - *Tumar Wasilath-i-Kham*, S.A.H.
23. A fee to defray the expenses of *sihbandi* or irregular troops deployed to enforce collection of revenue.
24. Document No. 163, S.A.H.
25. Document No. 161, S.A.H. (Folio 27). For similiar type of bilingual documents pertaining to other regions of the Deccan, see my Work: *Mughal Administration of Deccan Under Nizam - ul - Mulh Asaf Jah I* (1720-48 A.D.)-Under publication by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Delhi.
26. Document No. 111, S.A.H.
27. Document No. 404, *Tumar Wasilath Kham*, S.A.H.
28. Dr. Richards, *op.cit.*, P. 148.
29. *Ibid.*, 170
30. Scores of documents have been discussed and tabulated else where in my work cited in f.n. 25. *supra*.
31. Firmingar, *log.cit.*
32. *Ibid.* III, p. T3.
33. For fuller details of systematic and fair administration under the Muslim rulers in the Deccan see my work: *Mughal Administration in Deccan Under Nizamul Mulk Asaf Jah I* (1720-480 A.D.)-Under publication by the Indian Council of Historical Research, New Deihi.

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Golconda Cotton Dyeing and a Dutch Grant Dated A.D. 1720

Dr. L. Varadarajan

During the eighteenth century the coastal area extending between the estuaries of the rivers Godavari and Cauvery tended to be considered as a common craft unit for the production of textiles. It was not always so and to understand the situation prior to this date the usages associated with the production of cotton along the coast have to be traced. The Andhra Pradesh coast was traditionally a region of variegated weaving.¹ The best madder along the entire coast was produced in the Nizampatnam area.² Apart from coloured woven textiles, in the Chirala area a special category of material, *ikat*, was also manufactured.³ The term *ikat* was given to a category of fabric woven from yarn which had been tied and resisted prior to its being dyed so that the pattern had been impressed on the yarn itself before it had been placed on the loom. There was no tradition of *ikat* in the Tamil Nadu area and the coastal area here was better known for its fine *kalamkari* ware.⁴ The products of both regions, the woven material of the Andhra Pradesh coast and the *kalamkari* fabrics of the Tamil Nadu coast formed important components in the spice trade. Nutmeg, mace and cloves, in which Indonesia possessed a monopoly, were bartered in exchange for these textiles.⁵ European traders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had their own understanding of the geography of the region. The coastal area from Nagapatam to the river Krishna was called *Coromandel*, the internal region receiving recognition as *Carnatic*. The maritime stretch between the rivers Krishna and Godavari was known as the *Gingelly Coast*.⁶

The traditions of political mastery had been quite different in the two units and this may have been a reason why craft traditions had remained separate. The Cholas had played an important role in the southern area. The northern unit had been nurtured by the Kakatiyas and Reddis, when the port town of Motupalli had attracted much mercantile enterprise⁷. With the establishment of the Bahmani Kingdom with its capital at Gulbarga, trade activity tended to shift to the west coast to ports such as Goa⁸. When the Persianised Qutbshahi⁹ Sultanate was established at Golconda, the eastern outlets received a fresh lease of life, the port city of Masulipatam¹⁰ performing the role which had earlier devolved on Motupalli.

Under the aegis of Vijayanagar, the southern unit also received considerable fillup. Although there are references to the *Kalamkari* technique being practiced in the second century of the Christian era¹¹ very little is known about the patterns in vogue or the identity of the artisans. Extant samples of seventeenth century *Kalamkari* produced in the southern sector bear a strong impress of a decorative style which may be associated with the mural paintings of Virupaksha Temple, Hampi. The establishment of Vijayanagar suzerainty was also accompanied by a degree of demographic change with the settlement of Telugu speaking immigrants in Tamil country. Members of the Telugu *Naidu* community now came to exercise an exclusive hold on the painting of *Kalamkari* ware¹².

In the northern sector, the establishment of Qutbshahi rule saw the re-opening of earlier areas of trade. Apart from the spice islands, a demand was established in the markets of the Red Sea and more particularly in Iran, then known as Persia¹³. This led to the fashioning of a new range of textiles. *Kalamkari* ware began to be made on a commercial scale. The Persian market was a potent one and patterns tended to fall in line with consumer preferences. As in the Tamil Nadu region the painters of *Kalamkari* were drawn from among members of the *Naidu* community. Although the tradition of *kalamkari* was much more firmly entrenched in the Tamil Nadu region, the painted ware of the Golconda coast soon established a name, perhaps as a result of court patronage, for superior quality. The textiles associated with the Coromandel and Gingelly coasts have been given the appellation of *early Coromandel* by John Irwin and K.B. Brett. These textiles have been further subdivided into Golconda School and Madras—Pulicat school corresponding to the Gingelly coast and the Coromandel respectively¹⁴.

Although the Motupalli charter¹⁵ and the grandiose activities of Raja Chola and Rajendra Chola¹⁶ are suggestive of an indigenous tradition of maritime activity carried out on a considerable scale, the actualities of local maritime skills remain shrouded in mystery. When the Europeans entered the field, the *chettians* played a role in the south while the existence of an Arab settlement has been associated with the early history of Masulipatam¹⁷. It was because of their participation in the spice trade that Europeans were drawn to the east coast. The Dutch enjoyed a particularly favourable position in Golconda. Not only did they possess distinct advantages in the spice trade, but they were the only Europeans tolerated on Japanese soil. This enabled them to bring Japanese gold and copper into Golconda. The same advantage provided the Dutch with an edge over other European competitors in the Persian market. Although the Dutch themselves were primarily interested in Persian silk they were fully cognisant of the additional facet of Persian demand for Golconda painted cottons¹⁸. Dutch counters in Golconda comprised those established at Masulipatam (1605), Petapoly (1605), Palakollu (1606) the capital city, Golconda (1661), as also at Datcheron, Nagalwanse and Bimlipatam¹⁹.

Although in present times virtually all traces of *Kalamakari* activity and Dutch presence have been practically obliterated from Palakollu, in view of the scale of their transactions in the past, the existence of a document granted by the Dutch V.O.C. (*Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie*) in the hands of a traditional family of cotton painters need cause no surprise. The document was initially photographed at Palakollu subsequent to which the Telugu transcription, included in this article (Appendix), was made at Hyderabad. The English translation reads as follows²⁰:

Sri Rama Sankara

With the agreement of Gharatu Vestinam and having consulted the *opperkapu*²¹ of the eastern region, the present document has been drafted. The following has been written by Rajadri Kapu Manu (head farmer)² in the name of Colonel Bodivense. Bukru Buru was the *karrani* (accountant), John Hales was the head writer, Abraham Punde Kustali was under-writer. This paper was addressed by the head of the Company to Kondepudi Atchanna. You had requested us for the grant of two *kattula*²³ of land. You had wished to construct a tank on this so that you could speed up the rate of your delivery to the Company and dye many saris (*kokkalu*) required by the Company. We wrote to the Governor of Nagapatam and secured his sanction. You have been granted two *kattula* of land to the south of Mochupalle village inclusive of Chittaravu tank. You may construct a tank and utilise the water of Chittaravu tank for the dyeing of saris. This land is granted to you and your successors to earn your livelihood. You can feed your tank with the waters of the river Veddava running to the south of the tank.

This document was issued from the administrative quarters of the Company at Palakollu.

The Dutch administration issued the grant for Chittaravu tank on 25 February, 1720 A.D.

This document, drafted in Telugu rather than Persian, is of considerable interest. It was granted to members of the Naidu community thus reinforcing oral tradition linking this community with the vocation of cotton painting and dyeing. The fact that such a document was issued in the year 1720 reinforces evidence that after the disastrous famine of 1686-87 when the manufacture of cotton textiles came to a virtual stop, the activity had greatly revived by the year 1720²⁴. The strong administration of Mubariz Khan, Mughal Governor of Hyderabad (1713-1724 A.D.) undoubtedly played a part in this. Indeed by the year 1723, Masulipatam, which had seen much hardship after the collapse of Golconda in 1687, was in so flourishing a state that the English merchant Humphrey Holcombe, sent to reestablish the Company counter at Masulipatam, complained that there was so much demand that labour had become scarce and dear²⁵. It appears somewhat curious that the

Dutch, operating only in the external market, should have been commissioning *kokkalu* (saris), but perhaps the colloquial term was used in the generic sense of *fabrics* by the Telugu draftsman who may not have been fully conversant with the full range trade terms relating to specific categories of textiles in which the Dutch carried on their trade.

APPENDIX

శ్రీ రామ శంకరా

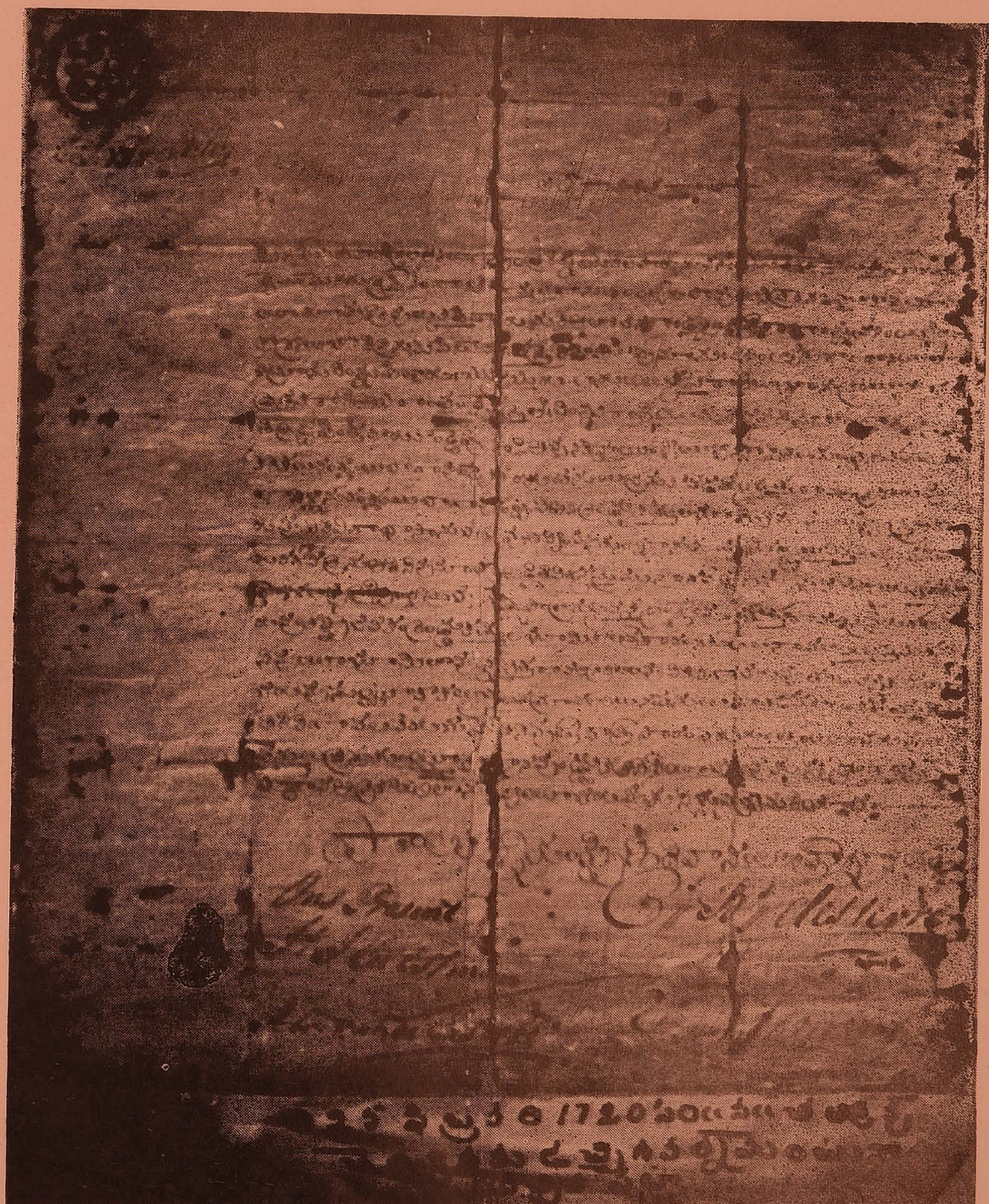
ది. 25 ప్రెబరు వారు నెల ఆనలు 1720 తేరిక్కు మెదిలి హెరుగువన్.....
 82 కొరమిలోడ్డెలు, ఘెరతు వేస్తినంగరికి సంమ్మతిగాను| బియ్యరు పావుల్లు పేరేన
 బప్పర కాపుమాన యాతూపున్ రేవుల్కు కపితారు మరి ఆలోచనకాండ్ల శెల్వు ప్రకారం
 న్ను | వచియ్యరు కొనెన్లు బొడివెన్ను కపితారు దస్తే రాజాద్రి కాపుమానుం వేచియ్యరు
 జాంరానియభో (కా)శి మోను చిన్న కపితారు. బుక్కుబురుగారు యిక్కడి కరాణిలు. జానుహెల్లు
 మానుడి పెద్ద కరాణి అబరాం వుండె కున్నలీ చింన్న కరాణి యిమడర్ద పనిమోకంగాను కుంఫిణి
 పెద్ద పెంతదొరుకొండెపూడి ఆచ్చనకి వ్రాయించి యిచ్చిన కాకితం. కుంప్పిణి కపుల్కుశాల
 కోకాలు రంగులు బాగా వుండెరను పనులు చేసుకోవడము చిత్తరావ అనే చేరువుతో నీళ్లును
 రంగులు బాగావుంటావి అని రెండ్డు కత్తుల భూమికి శలవు యిప్పింస్తే ఆదొరువువిరివిగా
 ఖాసాను చరువు తవ్వించు కుంటాను కుంప్పిణి సర్కులు విస్తరించి పనులు జరగవలెను అని
 నీవు మాతో అడ్గితివి గన్నమెము నాగ పట్టణపు గువనన్ దొరుగారికి వ్రాసిన శలవు తెప్పించి
 మోచ్చువల్లి పాలెమ్ము దక్షణంగా వున్న చిత్తరావ అనే పేరుగల దొరువు కల్పిచవకంరెండ్ర
 కత్తుల భూమి కొల ప్రకారం నీకు యినాము యిస్తేమిగన్ము నీవు యీ భూమిలోవున్న
 చిత్తరావ అనే దొరువు విరివిగా చరువు తవ్వి చుకని యీచరువు సుట్టూ కోక్కలు చలువ
 మొదలయిన పనులు సాగడమ్ము లంక్క వుంచుకుని విరివిగా వలవరుచుడ్ కనినీ పుత్రప్రేత
 పారం పరి యాత్తం యీచరువుతో పనులు చేసుకుంటున్నానుఖాన వుండ్డు కునేది. యీచరువుకు
 దక్షణంగా వుండే వెద్దవ అనే కోటలోనుంచి యీచరువుకు నీళ్లువచ్చే మరియూద.

పాలకోల్లి కుంప్పిణి దివానంతో వాల్లి కాకితం

ది 25 ఫిబ్రవరి 1720 సం॥ న చితాపు చెర్వునకు డచ్చి గవర్నమెంటువారు
 యిచ్చిన పట్టా:

References and Notes

1. See S.P. Reddi, Hindi Trans. from original in Telugu by R.V. Rao, *Andhra ka Samajik Itihas*, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1959, pp. 13, 78, 147, 314; M.S.Sarma, *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, Waltair, 1948, pp. 285, 288; A.V. Krishnamoorthy, *Social and Economic Conditions in Eastern Deccan, A.D. 1000-1250*, Secunderabad, 1970, p. 57; J. Parker, ed., *Merchants and Scholars*, Minneapolis, 1965, Burton Stein, "Coromandle Trade in Medieval India", p. 52; J.J. Brenning, *The Textile Trade of Seventeenth Century Northern Coromandel ; A Study of Pre-Modern Asia Export Industry*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1975, p. 227.



Dutch Company's Document in Telugu—1720 A.D.

2. W.H. Moreland, *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century* (henceforth cited as *Relations*), London, 1931, pp. 54-55. Earlier it had been known as Arjūmpatnam while the English referred to it as Pettikpoly. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1941, Srinivasachari, p. 240.
3. B.C. Mohanty and Kalyan Krishna (*Ikat Fabrics of Orissa and Andhra Pradesh*, Ahmedabad, 1974, p. 21) are of view that *ikat* tradition in Andhra is a very late one. However, linkage with *ikat* tradition at Jalna suggests a much older origin. See *ibid.*, p. 15; *Journal of Indian Textile History*, No.1, 1955, Pupul Jayakar, "A Neglected Group of Indian Ikat Fabrics" pp. 55, 57-58
4. For the connotation of the term, *kalamkari*, see *Homage to Kalamkari* Marg Publications, Bombay, 1979, Lotika Varadarajan. "Towards a Definition of *Kalamkari*"; pp. 19-21 For *Kalamkari* in Tamil Nadu see W.H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, Delhi 1972 (reprint, London edition of 1923), p. 32; J. Macau, *L'Inde Danoise, La Première Compagnie (1616-1670)*, Etudes et Documents, No 3, Institut d' Histoire des Pays d'Outre Mer, Aix-en-Provence, pp. 29, 105-106
5. For the exchange ratios between textiles and spices see G.P. Rouffaer, H.H. Juynball, *De Batik-Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indie en Haar Geschiedenis*, Utrecht, 1913, Bijlage (Appendix) III.
6. J.J. Brenning, *op.cit.*, p. 5; Burton Stein (J. Parker, *op.cit.*, article cited by Burton Stein, p. 60, no. 1) defines the Coromandel as the coastal stretch of eastern peninsula India extending from Cape Comorin to the mouth of the river Godavari in modern Andhra Pradesh.
7. See S.P. Reddi, *op. cit.*, pp. 84, 142; M.S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, pp. 403. 405.
8. J.J. Brenning, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-19.
9. For the origin of this dynasty see *Itihas*, III, 1975, Ziauddin Ahmed Shakeb, "The Black Sheep Tribe from Lake Van to Golconda", pp. 35-66.
10. For early references to Masulipatam see *Krishna District Gazetteer*, March 1968, draft copy at State Archives, Hyderabad, p. 43. Variations in the European spelling of Masulipatam are discussed by R.C. Temple *Indian Antiquary*, XXX, "Extracts from the log book of a voyage along the coast of India in 1746", p. 348). Thomas Bowry records that during the period 1669-1679 Masulipatnam served as an outlet for an area extending one hundred miles in circuit. T. Bowry, *A Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-1679*, Cambridge, 1905, p. 106.
11. See Lotika Varadarjan, *South Indian Traditions of Kalamkari*, Cyclostyled copy at National Institute of Design, Ahmedabad p. 11.
12. This observation is based on oral tradition collated in the course of extensive field work undertaken by the author in coastal Andhra Pradesh, Kalahasti and Kumbakonam in areas where *Kalamkari* is still being practiced. Cf. *Lalit Kala* No. 5, 1959, John Irwin, "Golconda Cotton Paintings of the Early Seventeenth Century", p. 20, n.3.
13. S.P. Reddi (*op. cit.*, pp. 84, 142, 144-146) and M.S. Sarma (*op. cit.*, pp. 403-405), describe the wide ambit of commercial transactions during the Kakatiya and Reddi periods conducted through the port of Motupalli. The channels of trade extended to Hormuz, Ceylon, Malaya, Sumatra and China. Under the Bahmanis there was a decline and this may account for the fact noted by the Dutch traveller Schorer that

when the Qutbshahs came to power there were no trade links in existence between Masulipatnam and the markets of the Red Sea or the spice islands. See J.J. Brennig, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-22. For the links between Golconda and Persia See *Islamic Culture* (hence forth *I.C.*) XXXIII, 1959, M. Alam, p. 1781; John Irwin, K.B. Brett, *Origins of Chintz*, London, 1970, p. 13.

14. *Ibid.*, *loc. cit.*
15. See M.S. Sarma, *op. cit.*, pp. 404-405.
16. See Nilakanta Shastri *A History of South India*, 4th edition, Madras, 1976, pp. 182, 184.
17. See G. Mackenzie, *A Manual of Krishna District in the Presidency of Madras*, 1883, p. 87.
18. See *I.C.*, XXXIII, 1959, M. Alam, pp. 172, 175-176, 178-179; P.M. Joshi, M.A. Nayeem eds., *Studies in the Foreign Relations of India*, State Archives, Hyderabad, 1975, Lotika Varadarajan, "Foreign Trade of Surat 1650-1700", pp. 481-482.
19. For further details relating to these counters see W.H. Moreland, *Relations*, p. 61, n 2; J.J. Brennig, *op. cit.* pp. 24-25; 125; B.B. Kling, M.N. Pearson, eds., *Age of Partnership* Honolulu, 1979, p. 94 n. 16; *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, LXII, 1975, J. Deloche, "Le Memor de Morociens sur Macilipattanamu; Un Tableau des Conditions Economiques et Sociales des Provinces Cotieres de l' Andhra au Milieu du XVIII siecle" p. 10.
20. The author would like to express her thanks to Shri Pinny Lakshmi Narasimha Rao (Pinnyvada Street, Palakollu 534 250) for his extreme courtesy and kindness in allowing her to photograph the document in his possession and according her permission to publish it. The author would also like to express her gratitude for the assistance received from Shri Muhammad Anwarul Haq, Assistant Archivist, State Archives, Hyderabad. The latter not only prepared the Telugu transcript from the photograph copy of the document but also translated it into English.
21. Shri Haq associated this term with the caste of tank diggers. However, an alternative meaning is possible as Dutch administrative hierarchy included an official known as *Opporkoopmann* or Senior Merchant. See *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, 8, 1965, S. Arasaratnam, "The administrative organisation of the Dutch Company in Ceylon", p. 2.
22. The practice of revenue farming known as *chuda-dari* was a well accepted one in Qutbshahi Golconda. See T. Raychaudhuri, *Jan Company in the Coromandel*, The Hague, 1962, p. 7. Although frowned upon, it existed under the name *ijara* in the Mughal Empire. M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay, 1970 (reprint), pp. 83-84. When Golconda was absorbed into the Mughal empire, attempts were made to root-out revenue farming but these efforts culminated in only a limited measure of success. See J.F. Richards, *Mughal Administration in Golconda*, Oxford University Press, 1975, pp. 169, 172, 212-213.

23. According to Shri M.A. Haq, the *kattula* was a variable unit of land measurement. He pointed out that in Government records it was rated at 40 acres and 14 *kuntas*. see also H.H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms* Delhi, 1968 (Reprint of London 1855 edition), *Kathi*, *Katlai* q.v.
24. J.F. Richards, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 304.

Contemporary Newspaper Opinion On Alluri Sitha Rama Raju

K. Subramanyam

Alluri Sitha Rama Raju was a great revolutionary leader of the Andhra region, during the Non-Co-operation Movement of the Indian freedom struggle. His organised rebellion between 1922 and 1924, against the British rule in India, constitutes "a most glorious chapter in the history of the freedom struggle in Andhra".¹ His rebellion had a "romantic hallow around it and it caught the imagination of the Andhra People".² After his death, his courage, self-less service to his fellow beings and daring exploits against the mighty British Raj, were inspiring recalled by the nationalist newspapers in Andhra, to rouse patriotism among the Andhras. He was compared to Shivaji, and Rana Pratap and was exalted to the level of a national leader.³ He was a terror for the British Government. The Madras Government had to deploy the army to put down his revolt in the Rampa region⁴ where Raju carried on his anti-British revolt. He could be captured only after two years of serious effort and heavy expenditure. A reward of Rs. 10,000/- was announced by the Madras Government, for anyone who would capture Sitha Rama Raju. During the period of his rebellion, Raju was able to virtually paralyse the British Government in the agency area of the Andhra region.

Sitha Rama Raju was captured and killed on 7 May, 1924, when he was only 27 years old. From 1928 onwards, the prominent news papers of Andhra, published articles praising Raju as a great national hero and appealed to people to celebrate the birth anniversary of the revolutionary leader. Because of his glorification after his death by the nationalist press, and in view of his daring exploits against the foreign Government, one expects that the contemporary nationalist press would have praised and supported Raju and his rebellion. But a perusal of the contents of the contemporary press belies such expectations. During his life time, when Raju was engaged in a great adventure against the foreign Government, the contemporary newspapers treated him as a "Pituridar" and did not lend any support for his armed revolt against the alien Government.

Opinion of Telugu Papers

Maddoori Annapoornaih, the Editor of a Telugu Journal Congress was a class-mate of Alluri Sitha Rama Raju, in P.R.College, Kakinada.⁵

His journal was considered as an extremist organ by the Government. It was mainly due to his efforts through the columns of his journal *Congress* that after 1928, Alluri Sitha Rama Raju, became glorified as a great national hero. However it is surprising to note that even that journal, condemned Raju and his movement, when he was alive.

In 1922, when there was a discussion, in the Madras Legislative Council, on the Rampa rebellion, C.R.Reddy, a member of the Council, pleaded on the floor of the house, that the Government should put down the "Rampa Pithuri" and that causes for the rebellion may be investigated later on. The *Congress* of 23 November, 1922, commenting on the discussion in the legislature, differed from the view of C.R.Reddy and wrote that causes for the rebellion should be first investigated⁶. But its comments in that issue, on the Rampa rebellion, did not contain any remarks which can be considered as praise or support for Raju or for his movement. In that issue, about the rebels, the paper commented that they were "unnecessarily subjecting themselves to troubles," without properly estimating their own strength and that of the Government.

One year, after Raju's rebellion had progressed, the *Congress* in its issue dated 5, April, 1923, wrote that it would be "gratified" if the "Rampa Pithuri" was completely put down⁷. Later in its issue dated 11th October 1923, the *Congress* made derogatory remarks about Raju. The paper wrote: "Though the Pituri is going on since one year, the causes are not known and the leader has not been siezed. Are the people there in to be suffering at the hands of Rama Raju in the mean while? It is ridiculous that the British Government who have vanquished, in a great war, Germany...Could not apprehend a small Pituridar after a year's toil".⁸ Thus, a journal which later on glorified him as a National leader and compared him to Shivaji and Ranapratap, could see him only as a "small pituridar" when he was actually fighting bravely, agianst the British forces.

Opinion of Andhra Pa'rika

The *Andhra Patrika*, the only Telugu daily newspaper in those days, and one of the leading nationalist journals in Andhra, published news of the exploits of Sitha Rama Raju. The sources for its news were the writings of its own correspondents, the despatches of the correspondent of *Swarajya* of Tanguturi Prakasam, Government Communiques and the news published in the *Madras Mail*. Articles on the causes of the rebellion, and editorial comments on the revolts were also published by the paper. The news reports published in the paper mentioned that Raju was not causing any harm, to the people. In its issue dated 28, August 1922, in the news report on "Manyam Pithuri" the *Andhra Partika* mentioned that Sitha Rama Raju and his followers, did not harm the people or loot their property, while attacking three polic stations near Tuni. It was further stated that Raju had told

the people that he would not harm them and that they need not be afraid of him. But the *Andhra Patrika* considered the rebellion as a local tribal uprising and did not use its influence to rally public support for the anti-British rebellion of Sitha Rama Raju. In its editorial on the Agency administrative report for the year 1921-22, the paper in its issue dated 5th December 1922, commented that the Government should remove the difficulties of the people inhabiting that area, to put an end to unrest in that region. The editorial did not contain any favourable comments on Raju or on his movement.

The *Andhra Patrika* discounted all rumours regarding any connection between the Non-co-operation movement and the rebellion of Sitha Rama Raju. In an editorial the paper wrote: "It is established long ago that the non-co-operators have no connection what so ever with Rama Raju's revolt. It is certain, that the non-co-operators who believe in non-violence, will not support the violent efforts of Rama Raju¹⁰". Generally the views of *Madras Mail* were anathema to the nationalist papers. But on the Rampa rebellion, *Andhra Patrika* and other nationalist papers published extracts from the *Madras Mail*, criticising the Government for its inability to deal with the rebellion. *Andhra Patrika* of 9 December 1922 published *Madras Mail's* criticism of the Government for not deploying in the Agency area, sufficient men and weapons to deal effeciely with the rebellion in that region. When Raju died, in 1924, the *Andhra Patrika* editorially commented that he deserved a place in heaven but pointed out that his pituri was "harmful both to the people and to the country ¹¹". Thus the *Andhra Patrika* also did not support Alluri Sitha Rama Raju in his heroic endeavour to over throw the British Government.

Krishna Patrika

The *Krishna Patrika*, a Telugu weekly published from Masulipatnam and edited by the great nationalist, Mutnuri Krishna Rao, also did not support Raju or his rebellion. The paper published news from the correspondent of *Swarajya* about the daring attacks of Raju on Police Stations, and also mentioned in the news reports, that he was not doing any harm to the people. It also published an article, giving details about the wonderful divine powers of Sitha Rama Raju, in its issue dated 14th October 1922. In that article it was mentioned that the Agency people worshipped him as God and that people believed that he possessed many extraordinary powers. But the paper's comments on Raju's anti-British activities, conformed to its general faith in the Congress ideology of non-violence. In its issue of 2nd September 1922, the paper justified the need for suppressing the rebellion, but cautioned the Government, that innocent people should not be harassed. What the *Krishna Patrika* wrote in its issue of 5th May 1923 was representative of its critical attitude towards Raju and his rebellion. The paper commenting on the removal of fire-arms from Police Stations by the Govern-

ment wrote: "Instead of increasing fire arms in Police Stations, they have removed them. This has enabled Raju to roam about more fearlessly. What is to become of the people in the Agency Villages? They are spending days and nights with the fear that the rebels may face on them at any moment." In its editorial, on Raju's death, the *Krishna Patrika* wrote that it was shameful that Raju was shot dead even though he was captured alive¹². Though the paper expressed sympathy over the death of Raju, it characterised his rebellion as a "small pituri" and never lent support for the armed rebellion of Raju. In the same editorial mentioned above, the paper wrote: "The fact that the police have taken so much time for putting down the small pituri does not speak for the credit of the Police".¹³ Thus the views expressed by the *Krishna Patrika* on the Rampa rebellion do not indicate its support for Raju or his revolt.

Opinion of Less Important Telugu Papers

The less important Telugu papers like *Palleturu*, *Swatantra*, *Simhapuri*, *Godavari Patrika*, *Guntur Patrika* and *Pinakini Patrika* also criticised Raju and his activities.

The *Palleturu*, a weekly published from Nidadavole, published the news of Raju's death, with black borders, in its issue dated 9th May 1924.¹⁴ The editor compared Raju to Lenin and expressed deep sorrow on his death.¹⁵ The paper wrote "Mother earth cannot but feel sorry for the violent death of such a gem of a son, however bad might have been the ways he had followed. Can there be a limit to the sorrow of Mother Earth who lost a handsome and young son rich in soul-force?"¹⁶ But the Editor made it clear that he had no sympathy for the violent movement of Raju. He wrote in the same editorial mentioned above that he "did not in the least sympathise with his (Raju's) acts".¹⁷

The *Swatantra*, a weekly published from Rajahmundry in its issue dated 13th May 1924, referring to the death of Rama Raju wrote: "We do not accept the methods adopted by him—far from being beneficial to the country at the present day, they are capable of doing incalculable harm to her."¹⁸ Continuing its remarks, the paper mentioned about people's sympathy for him and disassociating itself from all such sympathy, and concluded, "It is good for the society that such people should die... The more quickly such persons as Sri Rama Raju die, the better it is for the country."¹⁹ Nothing that the above remarks of the paper, had angered some of its readers, the journal in its next issue, dated 20th May 1924, justified its remarks on Raju and declared, "such people (like Raju) should be out of sight for 25 years. We are glad that the Pituri has atleast now subsided."²⁰

The *Godavary Patrika* of Rajahmundry was also hostile towards Raju. It criticised the publicity Bureau for not contradicting the rumours about the

great powers of Raju and his actions and questioned why the Government had failed in arresting Raju who had "scantdy following".²¹ The *Guntur Patrika* of 8th and 15 May 1923, commenting on Government's report that the people in the Agency area were not co-operating with the Government, remarked that the Villagers were helping Raju because they were afraid that Raju might kill them if they did not help him, and added that no one would adopt the violent methods adopted by Raju²². The *Simhapuri* of Nellore and *Pinakini Patrika* of Anantapur also expressed similar sentiments. The *Simhapuri* of 10th May 1923 wrote: "It is ridiculous to say that the general public who are the objects of plunder by the rebels both day and night have not helped the Government in destroying them."²³ The *Pinakin Patrika* of 19th May 1923, asked "when the police are not able to do any thing what could the people do?"²⁴ The *Kshtriya Patrika* which voiced the then views of the Kshatriya Community to which Raju belonged also wrote that it was no use blaming the people for not helping the Government and warned that imposition of punitive tax and other repressive measures would only increase the agitation in the Agency area²⁵. The *Andhravani* of Berhampur in its issue dated 29th October 1922 did not express its sympathy for the Rampa rebellion but compared the Government communiques on the rebellion to its statements on the worship Emden, the presence of which caused much alarm to the people of Madras, during the first World War²⁶. The *Nyaya dipika* an organ of the Justice party and a pro-British Telugu paper also completely condemned Raju's rebellion and pleaded for the punishment of the rebels. It wrote, "All those who took part in the Agency Revolt should be properly punished. We can not at all plead for the acquittal of the guilty"²⁷.

Thus, the contemporary Telugu press, treated Raju as a mere Pituridar and condemned the methods adopted by him against the British Government. It is significant to note that the Madras Government in its annual report on the press for 1923 mentioned that the "most of the Telugu papers belittled the work of the Police in connection with the putting down of the agency Pithuri and said that the fact that they had been unable to arrest the ringleader Sitha Rama Raju, only betrayed the utter inefficiency of the Police force"²⁸. In the criticism of the Rampa rebellion, by the contemporary press there was a rare unanimity among papers of all shades of opinion and both nationalist and pro-British papers criticised him.

Views of English Papers

The nationalist English newspapers also adopted a critical attitude towards Sitha Rama Raju's rebellion. The *Swarajya* of Tanguturi Prakasam characterised the rebellion as "a local rising of a body of uncivilised tribesmen"²⁹ and alleged that the British Government deliberately did not deal with the rebellion effectively, to make the people understand that if the British rule was withdrawn, India would be ruined by such risings³⁰.

The New India of Mrs. Annie Besant, published news of Raju's rebellion, while publishing Government communiques on the subject, but did not make any favourable comment on Raju or his methods. In a heading for a news item on Raju's rebellion, the *New India* of 29th April 1923, described Raju as "an anti-British fanatic".

The Hindu also never showed any sympathy for the rebellion organised by Raju. It merely published the news of Government's encounter with the rebels, as given out in the official statements.

Reaction To Resolution of Admiration

The newspapers of Andhra commented on Sitha Rama Raju, when the Godavary District Association and the Andhra Provincial Conference, of 1924 discussed a resolution on the occasion of Raju's death expressing admiration for his heroic patriotism. In both the Conferences the resolution was withdrawn, as doubts about the authenticity of the death of Raju were expressed. The press in Andhra, compared the resolution expressing admiration for Raju, to a similar resolution praising Gopinath Saha of Bengal. The *Krishna Patrika* of 25th October 1924, felt that both resolutions exhibited a "kind of mental perversity". The *Trilinga* of 25th October 1924, wrote: "The resolution on Sri Rama Raju is like that of Saha in Bengal. It is beyond doubt that the violent actions of these deserved only condemnation"³¹.

Thus it is clear from an examination of the contents of the contemporary newspapers of Andhra that the press at that time, did not support Raju's rebellion against the British, even though it made use of his name in later years for rousing patriotism among the Andhras. The view expressed by Prof. M. Venkata Rangaiya that contemporary opinion in Andhra "had very little to say in appreciation of the political aims of Sitha Rama Raju" is borne out by a study of the contents of the contemporary news papers³².

Reasons For Press Not Supporting Raju

The lack of support for Raju's rebellion, from the nationalist press in Andhra, was mainly due to its great faith in the creed of non-violence preached by Mahatma Gandhi. All the nationalist journals of Andhra, had implicit faith in the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and any praise for a violent movement like the one organised by Raju, was out of the question. What the *Andhra Patrika* wrote on the occasion of Raju's death, proves the point. The paper wrote the Pituri conducted by Raju is another illustration to show that violence is quite a useless weapon. Hence all will do well to adopt the excellent non-violent non-co-operation preached by Mr. Gandhi³³. In their loyalty for Mahatma Gandhi and his creed of non-violence, they sacrificed the interests of a movement lead by a great patriot, with the objective of overthrowing the British Government.

The traditional abhorrence towards violence of the press, in Andhra was also responsible for its criticism of Raju's anti-British revolt. Unlike some of the papers of Bengal and Bombay like, *Yuganthar*, and *Kesari*, which did not feel shy of supporting violence against the British Government, the papers of Andhra, like the papers in the rest of the Madras Presidency, felt that violence, murders and such other revolutionary methods would result in anarchy and also tarnish the good name of the country. Hence they generally condemned any act of violence even if it was against the foreign Government.

The Madras Government, in its annual reports on the tone of the press in the Presidency, noted for several years that the press generally did not encourage violence and condemned what it called "anarchist outrages".³⁴ The Government was happy with the generally peace-loving nature of the press in the Presidency. This general peace-loving attitude of the press in Andhra left Sitha Rama Raju without the support of the mass-media, in, his revolt against the alien Government.

Conclusion

From a study of the opinions expressed on Alluri Sitha Rama Raju, by the contemporary newspapers, the following conclusion emerges:-

1. Contemporary newspapers of Andhra both nationalist and Pro-British, condemned the revolt of Raju as a "small Pituri", and did not extend any support for the movement.
2. The entire press unanimously pleaded that the revolt should be put down and criticised the Government for not "effectively" dealing with it.
3. Contemporary newspaper writings on Sitha Rama Raju, reveal that the people of Andhra had sympathy for him.
4. The newspapers expressed sympathy for Raju when he was killed. But the papers condemned his violent methods.
5. The newspapers did not support Raju's revolt against the British Government because of their intense faith in the doctrine of non-violence, which was the result of their allegiance to the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

References and Notes

1. Prof. M. Venkata Rangaiya (Ed); *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh* (Andhra) Vol. III, P. 92
2. Dr. Sarojini Regani, *High lights of the Freedom Movement in Andhra Pradesh*, P. 100
3. *Congress* in many of its issue wrote that Raju was a great as Shivaji— in the issue dated 22nd December 1925 cited in Madras Native Press Reports 1926, p. 78, and issue dated 21st July 1931 cited in Madras Native Press reports 1931 P. 1052 cited in Madras Native Press reports 1931 P. 1052. *Sayagrahi* of 8th July 1929 compared him to George Washington. The same journal of 15th July 1929 praised him as a “true hero like Shivaji and Ranapratap”
4. Agency Area in the Visakhapatnam and Godavary Districts was known as the Rampa region.
5. *Congress*, 17th November 1925, Madras Native Press Reports 1925, P. 1506
6. *Madras Native Press Reports*, 1922 P. 1469 (hereafter mentioned as M.N.P.R.)
7. *Ibid.*
8. *M.N.P.R.* 1923, pp. 1486-7.
9. *Ibid.* P. 1335.
10. *Andhra Patrika*, 11th October 1924
11. *Ibid.* 17 May, 1924
12. *Krishna Patrika*, 24 May 1924.
13. *Ibid.*
14. *M.N.P.R.* 1924, P.731
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*
18. *M.N.P.R.* 1924 PP 70 —1
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.* PP 765—6
21. *Godavary Patrika*, 31st October 1922, M.N.P.R. 1922 P. 1433
22. *M.N.P.R.* 1923, PP 669—70
23. *Ibid.* P. 99
24. *Ibid.* PP. 669—70
25. *Kshatriya Patrika*, 10 th May 1923, M.N.P.R. 1923, PP 752—53
26. *M.N.P.R.* 1922 P. 1434
27. *Ibid.* 1923 P. 486
28. Govt. of Madras G.O.No.345, Public Dept. (Confid.) dt.12th May 1924
29. *Swarajya* 7th April 1923, M.N.P.R. 1923 P. 441
30. *Ibid.*
31. Gopinath Saha, was hanged to death for killing an Englishman. All the methods of torture adopted by the Police to make him speak, failed. He was admired by the Bengalis and the Bengal Provincial conference held in 1924, a resolution was passed praising his courage and self-sacrifice.—Information gathered from Manmathanath Gupta, *History of the Indian Revolutionary Movement*, P. 101.
32. Prof. M. Venkata Rangaiya (Ed), *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh* (Andhra) Vol. III, PP 92—93.
33. *Andhra Patrika* 17th May, 1924; *M.N.P.R.* 1924 P.701.
34. Examples: Annual Report for 1909
Madras Government G.O.No. 1010, Judicial Department (Confid.) dated 4th July 1910.
Annual Report for 1930, Madras Government G.O.No.772—73 public Dept. (Confid.) dated 23rd July 1931.

Fall of The Nayar Dominance In Kerala

Dr. B. Sobhanan

Until the first decade of the 19th Century, the Nayars held a pre-dominant position in Kerala. In the dawn of that century the entire community was terrifically shattered from its preeminent position. But paradoxically nobody made any attempt to unravel the mystery behind this abrupt annihilation of that mighty community. All the historians and scholars dates from the period of P. Shusgoonny Menon discarded it either by cognition or by ignorance. Recently the decline of the Nayar Dominance became a subject of much discussion among the scholars in Kerala and abroad. But there was no change in the obscurity of the problem, because they are still under the mask of the early writers. But this paper woven out of the heap of contemporary manuscripts preserved in the National Archives, New Delhi, Tamilnadu Archives, Madras and other sources attempts to portray a graphic picture of that miserable fall.

From time immemorial onwards the course and destiny of human history was regulated and decided by the might of the martial forces. A sound military force constituted an important factor in the rise of all the great kingdoms in the world. There could not be any land empire without a sufficient armed force. The neglect of defence would ultimately result in the sudden collapse and disintegration of that respective kingdom. Thus the existence of a state is largely depended upon its military force. A well organised, well disciplined and well trained regular militia formed an integral part of every state. In Travancore, before the origin of the police force and the formation of state military force, the defence of the kingdom was looked after by the Nayar Brigade. They maintained law and order within the kingdom. The Nayars constituted the bulk of the militia. Unlike any other community the Nayar community dedicated itself to the cause of the king and the kingdom from its very beginning. Most of them were intensely patriotic and freedom-loving. They derived perpetual satisfaction only through their steadfast and sincere service. An ordinary soldier received 6 1/2 rupees only per mensem¹. They were satisfied with that meagre amount. The foreigners who visited this part of India were highly impressed with the chivalrous and adventurous spirit of the Nayar soldiers. They wrote brilliant testimonies about the character of the Nayar soldiers. K.P. Padmanabha Menon beautifully narrates all these opinions. According to him the Nayars

were born soldiers. Durate Barbosa wrote that: "in these kingdoms of Malabar there is another set of people called Nayars, who are the gentry and have no other duty then to carry on war, and they continually carry their arms with them". According to Varthema, an European scholar, "The Nairs are the same as the gentle folks amongst us, and are obliged to bear sword and shield or bows and lances. When they go through the streets, if they did not carry arms they would no longer be gentlemen". In 1563 Garcia described the Nayars as the knights in the Kingdom. Castenheda referred: "The Nayars were the men of war whom the king of Calicut and other kings, have..... They are all gentlemen who follow no office of employment but that of fighting when needed". In 1583 Linschotten said: "of these Malabares there are two manner of people, the one noblemen or gentlemen called Nayaes, which are soilders, that do only wear and handlearms". He adds "They are very good and stout soldiers and would setupon a man very fircefully". In 1611 Johnson in his book on "Early Relations of the most famous kingdoms of the world- he mentioned "it is strange to see how ready the soldier of this country is at his weapons They are all gentlemen and termed Naires". In 1609 Pyrad Laval stated "they were the lords of the land— the best soldiers in the world and courageous extremely skilful in the use of arms with limbs so agile and supple that they can throw themselves into every imaginable posture, and thus avoid or cunningly parry every possible stroke whilst at the same time they spring upon the foe". In 1623, Della Vella commenting upon the Nayars observed that the "Gentiles of the race of Nairi, for the most part by profession soldiers sufficiently swashing and brave". The Dutch Captain Nieuhooff (1653-70) expressed the view that "The Nayars are the descendants of noble families and brought up to the war and very bold and brave. They are the best wrestlers in the world and are very nimble on foot". Col. Wilkes observed: "The Nairs or military class of Malabar are perhaps, not exceeded any by nation on earth in a high spirit of independence and military honour; but like all persons stimulated by that spirit without the direction of discipline, their efforts are uncertain, capricious and desultory"².

The general criticisms in comparison with the warm tributes had little weight. For instance Col. Macaulay stated: "the principal Nairs and Malabars of this coast seem to possess very little discrimination of character in general, they are selfish, cold, blundered, avaricious, narrow-minded and meanly vindictive grafting the basest hypocrisy upon the most disgusting pride".³

In the social pyramid of Kerala, the Nayars occupied a prominent place. They were counted along with the *savaranas* or the privileged section of the society. They were often treated as the Kashatriyas. They enjoyed all the paraphernalias of a luxurious and extravagant life. The key posts of the state were occupied by them. They were respected by all. The kings were mostly guided by their advice. The Nayars even enjoyed the rights to kill an

FALL OF NAYAR DOMINANCE IN KERELA

Avarna without penalty, if he unfortunately happened to cross him in the way⁴. They enjoyed all these vast powers only due to their prominent position in the army.

The military training of the Nayar children started from the seventh year of their age. They were trained in their family gymnasiums called *Kalaris*. Even before their adult stage they mastered in the art of warfare. Just after his arrival in Travancore Col. Macaulay wrote: "each house inhabited by a Nair family is bound to hold in readiness and to furnish armed men at a call one male out of every two or in other words the half of all the males who have attained the age of twelve years. A proportion of these are constantly employed and they receive a small allowance in grain on urgent occasion and all males above twelve years of age must attend the Rajah's standard when summoned"⁵.

The early history of Travancore furnishes several brilliant records of their chivalrous action. For instance in 1532 in the battle of Tamraparni between Udaya Martanda Varma, the king of Travancore and Accuta, the successor of Krisna Deva Raya of Vijayanagar, the Nayars gallantly fought and defended Travancore: "on one side were ranged the resources of the empire (Vijayanagar) and of its Pandyan vassal, and on the other the gallant Nayars of Travancore. The Nayars in those days were a peculiarly military race, trained in the exercise of war from their earliest youth, and taking continued delight in their weapons, persuading themselves that no nation goeth beyond them in skill and dexterity"⁶.

The reign of Martanda Varma, the king of Travancore (1729-1758) marked a distinctive step in the decline of Nayar dominance. The principal Nayars like Ettuvittil Pillamars, Madampimars and Karyakars became rebellious and began to threaten the royal supremacy. In this context Martanda Varma brutally destroyed all the reactionary Nayar Chieftains. Formerly that chieftains pretended as the pillars of the State and used the Nayar brigade for unnecessary battles. When the mutinous Nayar Chieftains were eliminated with the most shocking punishments, the rest of the chieftains and the bulk of traditional Nayar brigade paid respect to the Raja. He changed it into well organized regular militia. K.M. Panikkar wrote: "Martanda Varma transformed Travancore into a military state based on a standing army and governed by a civil service which had but little to do with the people. The Nayar nobility had no voice in the administration and the Rajah's officials whose powers had enormously increased were recruited either from among Tamilians of low birth and no standing or from among Nayars who were in no way connected with the old noble families.... But that did not in any way affect the military character of the state or its authority vis-a-vis the population. Before the time of Martanda Varma rebellion was the recognised form of protest and Kerala Law did not allow either confiscation of property

or even capital punishment in the case of nobles. But after the firm organisation of Travancore, rebellion as a political weapon and warfare as a national habit disappeared from Kerala History ⁷.

According to him "this transformation marked the end of Nayar predominance in Kerala. From a privileged order which through its local chiefs controlled the affairs of Kerala, the Nayars in Travancore and Cochin became merely the chief community broken ⁸. But it seems that the obedient Nayar chieftains and soldiers continued to enjoy the hereditary powers and privileges. But they were strictly prohibited to make rebellions or conspiracies. For instance according to P. Shungoonny Menon during the reign of Martanda Varma Travancore possessed an army of 50,000 soldiers. But Martanda Varma reorganised the Nayar brigade into a permanent basis. Fra Bartolomeo, an European missionary who visited Travancore court during the reign of Dharma Raj (1758-1798) also stated: "the military forces of the present king of Travancore consist of 50000 men disciplined according to the European manner, and 100000 Malabar Nayris and Cegos, armed with bows and arrows, spears, swords and battle axes ⁹. It also refers the continued existence of the Nayar Brigade.

The Mysorean invasion led by Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan gave a rude shock to the predominance of Nayar supremacy in Kerala and it also marked another step in the process of decline. During that period Malabar was parcelled out into a number of hostile kingdoms. Cannanore, Cirakkal, Kurumbranat, Ernat, Kottayam, Kadattunat, Palakkatt, Kavappara, Calicut, Cochin and Travancore were some of the principal kingdoms. Among these kingdoms except Travancore and Cochin were further divided under numerous petty chieftains. In Travancore, Martanda Varma had already brought such feudal forces under his effective control. In Cochine, Paliyatta Komu Accan followed the same example. He suppressed the rebellious nobles with the help of Travancore. "After the treaty of 1761 the first Lord of Paliyam crushed the nobility of Cochin and sought to build up a bureaucracy on the model of Travancore" ¹⁰.

The petty chieftains were engaged in intermittent warfare. Chaos and confusion prevailed every where. It provided an alluring opportunity to the Sultans of Mysore. They subjugated numerous kingdoms of Malabar with little difficulty. "The Nayar, though trained in Spartan style, were no match to the Mysorean infantry, which was trained in the best European fashion, and its cavalry and artillery" ¹¹. The chieftains were forced to abdicate their kingdoms. Among the abdicated chieftains most of them obeyed the orders of Tipu Sultan, some other took shelter in the hills and in the heighbour kingdoms. In the works of K.M. Panikkar the Mysorean invasion "crushed the power of the Nayar nobility and the feudal anarchy that reigned from one end of Kerala to another vanished never to return¹²".

In 1789 Tipu Sultan issued a proclamation in Malabar: "From the period of the conquest until this day, during twenty-four years you have been a turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your rainy season, you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom. Be it so. What is past is past. Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner; dwell quietly and pay your dues like good subjects; and since it is a practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all born in adultery, and are more shameless in your connections than the beasts of the field, I here by require your to forsake these sinful practices, and live like the rest of mankind. And if you are disobedient to these commands, I have made repeated vows to honour the whole of you with Islam and to march the chief persons to the seat of government ¹³."

The policies pursued by Tipu Sultan failed to produce any permanent result. He retreated from Malabar soon after these arrangements. On that context the local chieftains re—asserted their powers and privilege with additional courage through the help of the English East India Company and other rebel kings. So it seems that the Nayar brigadade continued their existence without any considerable change. The contemporary records well establishes their continued existence. But K.M.Panikkar concludes that "the second half of the 18th century thus witnessed the destruction of the political predominance of the Nayars and this is the most capital fact in the history of Kerala during the last years". ¹⁴

But a detailed examination of the contemporary documents brings forth the fact that those events never affected the real influence of the Nayars, but it further strengthened the rank and file of the community. The real decline is yet to start, but before the examination of the actual decline he concluded the study covering only upto 1800. So let us proceed to examine the beginning of the real decline.

The nobility and utility of the Nayars began to diminish with the arrival of British subsidiary force. In 1788 Dharma Raja and his minister Dewan Raja Kesava Das sought the aid of the British force against the Mysorean attack. Welcoming the British subsidiary force in 1788 Dharma Raja wrote: 'I call the Almighty to witness that I rest my whole dependence on them for support and therefore most willingly acquiesce to the proposal in Your Excellency's letter of having some battalions of the Company's troops with me. Your Excellency will be pleased to show me your favour in any manner than can tend to the security and protection of amy country' ⁵'. The Maharaja voluntarily sought the British military protection and paid 1755 pagodas (about 650 pounds) per mensem for the proposed defence ¹⁶. It marked the beginning of the real decline of the Nayar dominance. In 1795, through the perpetual treaty of alliance subsidy and friendship the strength of the subsi-

diary force was increased from two battalions into four battalions of sepoy, a Company of European artillery and two companies of lascars¹⁷. The Maharaja agreed to give four lakhs of rupees per annum for its defence.

This treaty also adversely affected the influence of the Nayars. The Maharaja had already imposed several oppressive taxes like *Nilavari*, *Kadamavari* and several other war taxes upon the people to meet the expenses of the late war with Mysore. Again he was forced by the circumstances to impose more vexatious taxes and to reduce the importance of the native forces. He spent the last days in utter frustration and mental agony. A rebellious spirit gathered momentum among the people but he died before its outburst.

King Balarama Varma (1798-1810), the successor of Dharma Raja practised vehement hostility against the British interference from the very beginning. The court of Directors recorded in their minute: "the old Raja was succeeded by his nephew, a young man whose character seems ever since to have been marked by imbecility, caprice, and other qualities which show him to be wholly unequal to the task of Government"¹⁸. It further stated "Neither the Raja nor those employed in the transaction of this affairs regarded British connection with the ancient cordiality". They murdered Raja Kesava Das and his family for their intimacy with the English. "Dewan Raja Kesava Das and his family became the victims of the scheming cabal headed by Sampoti Kuncnilan Pilla. They died as the pioneer martyrs at the altar of British Travancore friendship and harmony"¹⁹.

In this context Marquess Wellesley was appointed as the Governor General of India. He was an arch imperialist, who resolved to establish British paramountcy upon the local kingdoms. As an effective measure to subjugate the local kingdoms under his imperial sway, he advocated for the permanent billeting of the British subsidiary forces instead of the native troops. Travancore received his special attention. In 1800 he appointed Col. Macaulay as the Political Resident of Travancore (1800—1810) with strict instruction to dissolve the Travancore force and to garrison the British subsidiary force within Travancore. He was a more staunch imperialist than Marquess Wellesley. But in the beginning he was amazed and astonished by the powerful hostile forces worked within the Travancore Court. His early attempts were aborted by them. But very soon he found the most effective instrument in Velu Tampi to fulfil his imperial ambitions. From 1800 onwards Dewan Velu Tampi (1801—1809) and Col. Macaulay jointly tried to substitute the British army instead of the traditional and permanent native force of Travancore viz., the Nayar Brigade. On the first day of the meeting between the two Col. Macaulay impressed upon the new Dewan the necessity to accept the proposed modifications in the treaty of 1795, viz., reduction in the strength of the Travancore troops, increase in the subsidiary force and a corresponding increase in the subsidy from four lakhs to ten lakhs.²⁰ The Dewan replied: "The Rajah had lately discovered in a box belonging to his uncle a cadjan in

the handwriting of the old Rajah addressed to his nephew, the present Rajah, containing among other instances of good advice, a solemn injunction to regard the Honourable Company next to Palpanavan Swamy as friends and protectors".²¹

From the time of his appointment as the Dewan, Velu Tampi was guided by the advice of Col. Macaulay. He was particular to foster and glorify the existing alliance with the company as desired by Col. Macaulay, Marquess Wellesley, the Governor-General of India was very much gratified by the judicious selection of Velu Tampi as the Dewan and he sent him valuable shawls, gold dresses and kincos according to the formality observed at the installation of chiefs in India. Velu Tampi's satisfaction at so distinguished an honour was obvious to the whole Durbar²². After two years of constant effort Col. Macaulay wrote to Marquess Wellesley. "The favourable reception which was given to the propositions tendered by me to the Rajah in December last arose from the Dewan's ascendancy in the councils of His Highness. This man clearly discerned the advancement of the mutual interests of the Rajah and of the Company, by the means of a closer connection between the two states and he therefore gave it his support but what chiefly swayed him, was the conviction that his own power would be thereby placed beyond the reach of accident. He therefore took a decided line, in consonance to which he pledged himself to lose no opportunity that might offer for the removal of his adversaries, and he promised to unite with me in using his best endeavours to bring all the depending questions to successful termination"²³.

The pro-British policy of the Dewan sparked off the enmity of the hostile court group. Their opposition only strengthened the resolve of the Dewan in his policy. He was powerfully backed by Col. Macaulay. The Dewan totally ignored all other burning problems of the day, viz., the mounting financial crisis in the state, dislike of both the Raja and the people towards British interference in their domestic affairs and other evil consequences connected with their colonial policy²⁴.

Dewan Velu Tampi wielded vast influence upon the Travancore Durbar. He was determined to obtain the Raja's consent for the new treaty. On 3rd March 1803, Col. Macaulay in his letter to the Secretary to the Governor General stated that the next day after the delivery of the Governor General's letter to the Maharaja the Dewan called upon him and "pledged himself to acquiesce in all measures that should be regarded as tending to promote a close union between the Rajah and the Company, as necessary in his opinion to the welfare and safety of His Highness"²⁵. On 15th March 1803, Macaulay in his letter to Malcolm observed with satisfaction the fortunate change and the happy prospect of a tranquil settlement of all questions. The letter from Marquess Wellesley had gained for the Dewan his legitimate ascendancy in his Government. He paid frequent visits to the Resident and opened himself without reserve. Col. Macaulay was decidedly of opinion that another letter

to the Raja from Lord Wellesley expressing His Lordship's displeasure at his conduct would produce the happiest effects and enable the Dewan and the Resident to carry on the business of this country in the mode that might be most agreeable to the Governor-General²⁶.

Accordingly, the Governor-General addressed the Raja and the minister and the letters were followed with gifts. The Dewan also received a khelaut, jewels, and other gifts from the Governor-General. The presents and distinctions offered by the Governor-General produced the desired effect. Both the Raja and his Dewan were easily moved by them. The Raja wrote that those presents had distinguished him among his equals²⁷. He guaranteed all kinds of assistance to the English against the French in case of renewal of the struggle. He mobilised a force of three battalions and placed it under the command of Col. Macaulay. He was even ready to recruit a still larger force if it was found necessary. He also sent his Dewan to Alleppey for the purpose of executing any work which Col. Macaulay might require. He also promised to promote the friendship with the English, the obligations of which his ancestors so faithfully discharged.²⁸

Conveying this happy turn of events, the Resident reported: "Having received immediate change of the whole of the troops belonging to the Rajah of Travancore, it appeared desirable to lose no time in making a public display of the sentiments of satisfaction which so cordial an union of sentiments and interests between the Rajah and the British Government apprehend to render expedient at the present crisis."²⁹ It was contrary to the wishes of the Rajah. The Rajah had consented to subsidise only three thousand soldiers and any further aid he might require on the footing of early friendship. His hopes had been further strengthened by the friendly letters and presents from the Governor General.

But Col. Macaulay and Velu Tampi tried to misrepresent the acquiescence of the Raja. They devised new schemes to offend the patriotic feelings of a section of officers and people who disliked British interference. In the same letter the Resident had stated that his attention had been lately directed to devise the means to reform the administration, in concert with the Dewan. The chief reforms aimed at were the following. A more regular system of payment to the troops was to be ascertained. Secondly provision was to be made only for such men as remained in actual service. Thirdly, to post at least one active officer from the Company's service to each corps of Travancore troops. According to him without these reforms no safe dependence could be placed on the ready execution of such orders as might be found necessary to issue for the prompt movement of troops from station to station.³⁰ From the adoption of these reforms, the Resident was confident, would "result many important ulterior advantages too obvious to recite. The battalions thus officered and regulated might be regarded as differing not very materially from the British native troops, while the military defence of Travancore country

being under such a system essentially confided to the British Government, without any additional burden on its finance, the security of the British empire in India so far as it can be affected by the designs of the enemy in this quarter, is thereby rendered more complete".³

Very soon the King and his advisers realised the dangerous situation. The reforms were aimed at the total absorption of the military and civil administration. It would further worsen unemployment and financial situation in the country. It would reduce Travancore into the position of a dependency of the Company. The Dewan's consent for the British orientation of the Nayar Brigade was strongly opposed by the highest officers of the state. It triggered off conspiracy on the part of various Nayar officers holding places of confidence at the durbar. They resolved to assassinate the Dewan. It was a conspiracy engineered and piloted by the highest officers of the State. Padmanabha Pilla, Supreme Commander of the Travancore forces, Nilakantan Pilla, Valiya Sarvathi Karyakkar of the northern division, Kuncu Nilan Pilla, Late Samprati Muttu Pilla, the accountant, Ahevedanum Pilla, the treasurer, Pappu Tampi, an officer of the palace in-charge of the ladies apartment, Koccu Narayanan Pilla, paymaster general and 'Gosseyn Gomadagirree', a foreign merchant, were the ring leaders of the conspiracy³².

On 17th March 1804, Col. Macaulay reported to the Supreme Government that "an unexpected occurrence has recently arisen here eventually tending to disturb the harmony and union subsisting between the British Government and the late Rajah of Travancore". "The wise measures of placing under the immediate direction of the British Government a portion of the Rajah's troops and the consent given to their being officered by British officers would appear to have erroneously excited the jealousy and displeasure of some profligate and daring intriguers who contrived to infuse their groundless jealousies into the mind of the Rajah, until at length they brought His Highness to acquiesce in the horrid measure of assassinating his Dewan without a hearing".³³

The Raja was seriously engaged in the hostile preparations and provided leadership. On 21st March 1804, at night one Padmanabha Pilla, Valiya Yajaman (Commander-in-chief) with a horse and some sepoys was sent to bring back Samprati Pilla. A house had been made ready for him. The Raja had sent order to one Nilakantan Cempakaraman Pilla to hurry up to Trivandrum immediately, it was stated, for succeeding the Dewan.³⁴ Padmanabha Pilla, who was banished from Travancore during the 1799 insurrection and who later participated in the murder of late Dewan's family, had been appointed the supreme commander. Sumprati Kuncu Nilan Pilla had also such a turbulent carrier. Most of the other officers were also involved previously in such wicked acts. They evinced deep animosity against British interference in the state's affairs. They followed an uncompromising policy.

On 17th March the Dewan departed from Alleppey and reached Trivandrum on 20th, whereupon his servants and friend were arrested; some were banished and others imprisoned. He was surrounded by hostile parties. He was intimated that they decided to put him to death on the night of Monday, 26th instant. The motive for this delay arose not from any sentiments of clemency in the minds of the assassins. Fortunately it so happened that the great festival in the Padmanabhasvami Temple forbade the shedding of blood and the festival was to continue till the fullmoon on 26th.³⁵

Ramalingam Mudaliyar, the writer of the Resident on his visit to the Raja, was told by the latter "that it was determined on, to serve him, as they had served the late Dewan's family upon Monday next being the close of the festival of Padmanabha".³⁶ In the course of the conversation the Raja alleged that his displeasure against his Dewan arose from the former's disobeying him in many respects. If the Dewan mended his conduct he had no cause for complaint against him on other accounts.³⁷ The Dewan was very much alarmed and "thinks that his life will be taken on Monday next if you don't start immediately to save him, he has earnestly requested me to write you by express to acquaint you that in case you arrive hereby Sunday or before Monday evening you may see him, otherwise he is gone." The Dewan requested the writer to permit one Hirearrah and one Concopilly to be with him and sleep near his bed.³⁸

Col. Macaulay afforded the Dewan steady and unreserved support.³⁹ On 25th March Col. Macaulay addressed the Raja that he had been acquainted with the uncomfortable state of affairs at the Durbar. He declared categorically that the commission or any act on the advice of his evil advisers would endanger the tranquillity and weaken the security of his country.⁴⁰

The Resident hastened to Trivandrum and arrived there on the closing day of the festival in the Sri Padmanabhasvami Temple and requested for an immediate audience with the Maharaja. The Raja tried to postpone the visit to the next day. But the former repeatedly pressed for the audience. In the course of this audience with the Raja, he asserted that in case the Raja attempted to shelter the authors of the late outrageous and insulting proceedings from punishment he would justly be subjected to the reproach of having not done his duty.⁴¹ It was at the climax of the preparations of that Col. Macaulay arrived at the court. The Raja was greatly alarmed and shocked at the arrival and the threats of Col. Macaulay. Being the head of the British force, Col. Macaulay could easily prevail over the Raja with the support of the Raja's principal minister. He was forced to confess his guilt and he admitted before Col. Macaulay that "he had been misled by mad men". No doubt Dewan Velu Tampi was providentially saved by the timely arrival of Col. Macaulay.

Col. Macaulay in his letter to the Governor General wrote that the Raja was ready to award capital punishment to the conspirators. The same des-

patch mentions that when Col. Macaulay suggested their close confinement in Allepey as a humane alternative, the Raja insisted on their confinement in the fortress of Trivandrum. But at length he agreed that the delinquent should be left at the disposal of His excellency⁴². The Raja requested for their confinement in Trivandrum mainly to make use of their hostility on another occasion. After awarding the punishments like banishment and close confinement, at the demand of the Company he secretly re-instated them with all their former powers and privileges.

The Raja was compelled to order the arrest of the culprits and they were arrested on 27th March 1804. In the words of Col. Macaulay, "thus has ended the wicked and insulting project of assassinating an innocent and meritorious minister to gratify the base passions of a few depraved and hostile intriguers."⁴³

The conspiracy to assassinate the Dewan was motivated by his intimacy with the Resident as well as against British interference in the state's affairs. It was the same reasons which made the conspirators take the lives of the late Dewan Raja Kesava Das and his family. While transmitting the list of conspirators Col. Macaulay remarked that "His Excellency will peruse with surprise in the list of these persons—names of men holding the first offices of this state. This will furnish abundant matter for reflection and will no doubt serve among other things to satisfy His excellency, that the application of a remedy sufficiently efficacious to prevent in this quarter the future recurrence of any such disgraceful dangerous and menacing projects has become indispensably necessary to protect and preserve our honour and safety."⁴⁴ The court of Directors recorded in their minute that "so precarious was the possession of power in that state, that almost immediately after a strong conspiracy was formed against the Dewan Valley Tomby, in which the Rajah himself was supposed to be engaged. The Dewan was excluded from all confidence, his enemies openly triumphed, a near day was fixed for his death, without trial, and he fled to the British Resident, by whose firmness and remonstrances the Rajah was at length diverted from his purpose, the conspirators were thrown into prison, and the Dewan obtained not only his life but the restoration of his power".⁴⁵

But this tranquillity was not destined to last long. On 8th October 1804, Col. Macaulay wrote to Marquess Wellseley that two of the chief conspirators arrested on the 27th of last March found means to escape from confinement by undermining the walls of the place in which their persons had been kept in restraint. Their names were Padmanabha Pilla formerly commanding the forces and Nilakantan Pilla late in charge of the Northern Division. They were pursued ineffectually for many days, but they had at length been discovered and apprehended and were again placed in confinement.⁴⁶ They were planned for a major upheaval. It gave the signal for the second major upsurge. On 16th November 1804 an open mutiny of the Nayar Bridage broke

out. The Court of Directors observed. "before the end of that year 1804, a formidable revolt took place among the Nair battalions in the service of the Rajah. Their original cause of disaffection appears to have been a reduction of their allowances; these the Rajah restored, and a short calm succeeded, but the revolt burst forth again with increased violence, the ringleaders liberated the conspirators in the former plot, increased their numbers to 10,000 men, and as was asserted by the Rajah himself, at length extended their to the subversion of the British power and influence in Travancore and the assassination both of the Dewan and the British Resident".⁴⁷

The primary objects of the rebels were no less than the assassination of the Dewan and of the British Resident.⁴⁸ The entire Nayar troops stationed at Trivandrum, Alleppey, Paravur, Mavelikkara and Northern lines defied the authority of the Company and organised a revolt. The regulars in the Nayar Brigade within Travancore numbered more than ten thousand men.⁴⁹ The Nayar troops in Alleppey were entrusted with the task of the assassination of the Resident and the Dewan.⁵⁰ The Resident sought refuge in Cochin the same day. He wrote to the Supreme Government that the Raja had entreated the Dewan to urge him to repair to some place of security as he was unable at present to protect him, even from insult.⁵¹

On 17th night the Dewan also quitted Alleppey and arrived at Cochin with five or six attendants only. He had taken refuge in a house, in the vicinity, belonging to the Raja of Cochin. Macaulay provided a small reinforcement from the province of Malabar to afford sufficient protection to his person.⁵² On 19th November 1804 the Dewan informed the Resident that a "delay of forty eight hours in quitting Alleppey would most probably have terminated fatally for him, as for the Resident".⁵³ According to him, the Nayar troops had acted criminally on the frontiers of the province of Tirunelveli. The officer-in-charge of the Lines in that quarter had mounted additional guns upon all the accessible batteries and had issued orders to fire upon the Company's troops that might approach the Lines.⁵⁴ Thus it was evident that the rebels had determined to oppose by force of arms all intercourse between the British Government and the Raja of Travancore.⁵⁵ The Dewan borrowed thirty thousand rupees from the Cochin treasury to make the urgent arrangements. "The Dewan pledged himself to repay any amount with which he may now be indulged immediately after the restoration of tranquillity and order within Travancore".⁵⁶

On the same day the Dewan ordered Colonel Daly the Officer-commanding the Carnatic Brigade to fall back with his brigade upon Cochin. And again he suggested to the Resident that if "some British troops at hand were co-operate with the Carnatic Brigade, the rebels might be promptly disarmed and dispersed".⁵⁷ Col. Macaulay ordered the Officer-commanding the forces of Malabar to detach immediately one corps of Native infantry. On the arrival of the troops he decided to make an attack upon the three separate

positions of the rebels at Paravur, Alleppey and Mavelikkara by three distinct divisions at nearly the same time. He intended to take personal charge of the attack upon Alleppey. The corps would be composed of two companies together with the Carnatic Brigade. The battalions from Malabar moved upon Paravur. Then he resolved to lose no time in taking effectual steps for placing the military defence of Travancore at the disposition of British Government. As a preliminary measure towards the attainment of this object he called upon the Officer-commanding the forces of the Southern Division of the army to detach three battalions of the Native Infantry.

On 24th November, the Raja urged the Dewan to use every possible precaution against a surprise attack upon his life. The revolted Nayars planned to attack the Resident and Dewan at Cochin. The rebels forcibly released two of the Chief conspirators arrested in March 1804. They were determined to have Nilakantan Pilla one of those liberated conspirators as the next Dewan. The Rajah acquainted the Dewan "that an attack upon Cochin is meditated and will most probably take place".⁵⁸ The Raja also sent orders to the rebels to return the criminals immediately to their place of confinement. He instructed some confidential persons to warn the rebel Nayars of the serious consequence of their continuing to disregard and insult the authority of the Raja and of daring to defy the British power. They disregarded the Raja's order, drove away his messengers and moved on to Trivandrum. The Raja then convened a meeting of the leading men in the country at which it was resolved to call upon the inhabitants to rise *enmasse* for the relief and protection of the Raja. This resolution was circulated in every district, but it had little effect.

On 23rd November the rebels arrived at Trivandrum escorting the liberated conspirators. About twenty thousand men, armed with different weapons collected together within the fort with resolution to protect the Raja from insult. On 24th morning the rebels advanced to the gate of the fort and demanded admittance to the palace, but those within refused and declared their determination to put to death whoever should attempt to force a passage. The rebels retired in awe by that unexpected show of firmness.⁵⁹

The call of the Raja for assistance was responded by the Christian fishermen of the coast and by hillmen. "They assembled at Trivandrum in immense numbers each man armed with a short bludgeon, the bowmen from the hills appeared at the same time in the Raja's behalf and the Nayars laid down their arms and fled".⁶⁰ The assembled people sent a detachment to re-arrest the conspirators who had been liberated by the rebels.⁶¹ About fifty of the ringleaders were seized and hanged. On 30th November the Dewan reported from Trivandrum that all the rebels at that place had been disarmed and secured. He had taken measures without delay to disarm and secure the rebels stationed at Alleppey, Mavelikkara, Paravur and the Northern Lines.⁶² The

Dewan took steps, with the support of the British forces, Carnatic Brigade of the Travancore forces and of the local people other than Nayers to put down the formidable rebellion of the Nayers.

On 11 December, Col. Macaulay announced the successful execution of his designs both in Alleppey and Mavelikkara. Velu Tampi reported from Mavelikkara: "the whole of the Rebel Nairs stationed at that place, having surrendered at discretion the commissioned and non-commissioned officers were placed in confinement in irons, until an investigation into their conduct should take place and the privates with the exception of few agitators of the rebellion having been stript and disbanded were dismissed with every mark of ignominy and disgrace".⁶³ On 18th he acquainted the Governor General of the final termination of hostilities. On that day the rebellious Nayers at Paravur surrendered their aims.⁶⁴ About the suppression of this formidable revolt the court of Directors stated in 1809: "It was only by the judicious active conduct of the Resident and the resolution of the British officer commanding Carnatic Brigade in the service of the Rajah, joined to the firmness of the Dewan, who had again fled to the Resident for protection that this rebellion was put down".⁶⁵ Many of the mutineers were apprehended and hanged, beheaded or blown off the canon's mouth. One Krisna Pilla from Quilon suffered the most cruel and shocking punishment. His legs were tied to two elephants and the animals were driven in opposite directions, which tore the unfortunate man into two.⁶⁶ It has been related that when this mutineer was lying on the ground thus tied, Velu Tampi Dalava, who has just on the spot approached him and asked him "Krishna Pillay how do you feel now", the Mutineer raised his head and said I feel as comfortable now as if I was lying on the rascal Velu Thampi's velvet bed on his family cot".⁶⁷ History records but seldom such abominable tales of barbarity and vindictiveness.⁶⁸

Thus the mighty upsurge of the Nayar Brigade which was intended to safeguard their traditional privileges was most brutally suppressed by the Company with the active assistance of Dewan Velu Tampi. The entire Nayar Brigade was shattered by 1804 revolt. Most of the leading officers and chieftains ended their lives in horrid circumstances. The remaining nobles and soldiers were forced to quit Travancore. They migrated to other countries. Some others took refuge in dense forests. On 7th December 1804 Col. Macaulay wrote some of the ringleaders of the revolt against the authority of raja of Travancore having fled from justice. So he sent circulars to the collectors of Tirunelveli and Dindigul and to the principal collector in Malabar requesting them to take steps for spending back to Travancore such fugitive Nayers as country of might bearrested by their servants on the respective forntess towards the districts under their charges.⁶⁹ On 10th December 1805 he wrote to Supreme Government: "We have this morning discovered that a five hundred fugitives from this station were drowned yesterday morning in attempting to escape by swimming a broad river which cuts off Alleppey from the inter-

ior of the country"⁷⁰. It is said that the Raja had fixed the 29th November 1804 for the disarming of the several crops of Nayars in revolt and for the infliction of capital punishment on the ringleaders⁷¹.

Immediately after the brutal dismemberment of the Nayar Brigade the British Government proceeded to Billett and the British soldiers permanently at Travancore. Marquess Wellesley directed Col. Macaulay to station the subsidiary force permanently within the Raja's dominions⁷². On 18th December 1804 Col. Macaulay wrote: "this most daring and atrocious revolt having been now entirely suppressed it is my intention to proceed in a short time accompanied by the Dewan to the residence of His Highness the Rajah for the purpose of being a situation more eventually favourable for the prompt and successful execution of my instruction"⁷³. But before that on 10th December he ordered the Officer, Commanding the Southern Division of the army to station three Native battalions near the gate of Aruvamoli⁷⁴. He also sought the consent of the Madras Government for the movement of the troops from Malabar and Palayamkotta as a precaution against any such immediate danger to English interests in that quarter as well as to provide eventually the means of fixing on a solid and durable basis the permanent security of those vital interests⁷⁵. It was actually intended to coerce the Raja into signing the treaty. Approving those measures the Governor-General once again acquainted the Resident to make the maximum exploitation of the opportunity for the modification of the treaty and for the permanent billeting of the subsidized force within Travancore⁷⁶.

In the next meeting with the Resident on 31st December the Dewan expressed his absolute satisfaction on the question of adopting the new treaty. He agreed to arrange it within 48 hours after the arrival of the Raja at Trivandrum⁷⁷. The Maharaja wrote: a month after the Nayar revolt Col. Macaulay stationed a detachment of regular infantry and a party of Europeans, probably artillery, at the eastern and northern entrances of Travancore. He now informed the Raja that new proposals for a treaty had arrived from Bengal, which he had to sign and deliver to him. If he opposed any clause of that treaty the Resident threatened that the troops would take immediate possession of his country and he would keep him under restraint and treat him with asperity and rigour. He excused himself by every means in his power arguing that the Resident was sensible of the inadequacy of the resources of his country to defray the expenses of the proposed additional subsidiary force. He further stressed his utter inability to provide funds to the extent necessary for that purpose and that his acceptance of that present treaty would involve him in utmost difficulty and distress. On hearing all these the Colonel harshly replied that if he did not receive the treaty and the Governor-General's letter at Arjengo, he would immediately move the troops which were assembled at the frontiers, which would involve the Raja in ruin and disgrace⁷⁸. Thus the Raja was coerced to sign the treaty. It was arbitrarily thrust upon the Raja. The Dewan celebrated the signature, exchange and satisfaction with

great pomp and splendour. He personally attended to make all the arrangements of the celebration. He wore on the occasion a gorgeous dress presented by Marquess Wellesley. Many who attended the function considered it as the symbol of slavery⁷⁹.

The modified treaty basically differed from the treaty of 1795. The third article stipulated that the Raja should pay annually, in addition to the subsidy under the former treaty, a sum equivalent to the expense of one regiment of native infantry, estimated to cost Rs. 4,01,655.⁸⁰ The subsidy was increased from 4 lakh to Rs. 8 lakh per annum. The king was forced to agree for such an expensive provision after reducing his traditional force into unemployment and poverty.

Adverting to the provisions of the new treaty Col. Macaulay wrote on 13 January 1805: "it appears to me that the force to be permanently stationed here should consist of not less than three native battalions, one company of European artillery and three companies of gun lascars with ordinance in proportion, the station which after the fullest reflection on the subject seems the most eligible for this force to occupy, is Quilon—that station is open and healthy and it is situated nearly in the centre of Travancore dominions. The Dewan also strongly recommended that station for the subsidiary force."⁸¹ On 27 January 1805 Col. Macaulay reported from Quilon: "one native battalion has taken up its ground here this day. The Dewan was already reached there with discretionary powers to raise tempoary barracks or places of arms for the several corps".⁸²

The English East India Company fulfilled their long cherished ambition through the instrumentality of Dewan Velu Tampi. Without any bloodshed of the English forces, the traditional Travancore forces were completely replaced by the subsidiary force of the British. The Dewan, the principal minister of the Maharaja himself took the responsibility to butcher his fellow beings and to billet the British forces in its stead and further agreed to meet all the expenses of the British forces reducing his men to debt and starvation. In 1800 a few days after his arrival in Travancore Col. Macaulay wrote to Marquess Wellesley "should these persons be removed from the country by authority of the British Government without some similar provision for subsistence, the majority of them must inevitably starve".⁸³ In another occasion he wrote the Travancore troops were well armed and not backward in discipline.⁸⁴ Velu Tampi regarded them as a set a mad men broken loose, easily brought to subjection by the proper application of firmness and coercion, who were capable of incalculable mischief if opposed with timidity and irresolution. According to him they were not actuated by one mind or motivated by one aim.⁸⁵ But Col. Macaulay wrote: "the rebels had grossly insulted the dignity and defied the power of the British Government and thereby endangered in a very great degree the security of the national interests upon this coast".⁸⁶ But the prominent historians of Kerala like P. Shungoonny Menon,⁸⁷ V. Nagam Aiya,⁸⁸ T. K. Velu Pilla⁸⁹ are of opinion that the Dewan had

proposed a reduction of Nayar troops in order to defray the arrears of subsidy due to the Honourable company which was still very high. This proposal caused dissatisfaction which was fanned into flame by the Dewan's enemies. It has been generally regarded as a mere Nayar Mutiny organised by some frustrated Nayars. But it does not agree with the documents of that period. In the second report from the select committee on the affairs of East India Company it is clearly stated "from 1798-1799 to 1806 the amount of this subsidy fixed at 42,914 has been annually realised in the way of set-off in the accounts with the Rajah for pepper furnished by him under contract".⁹⁰ There was no reference about the arrears, on the other hand it furnished a detailed account of the annual receipts without any default. The Resident observed "their enmity towards him was not personal it was solely directed to his official and ambassadorial character, by attacking the Resident they demonstrated their object to be no less than the dissolution of the alliance subsisting between the Honourable Company and the Rajah of Travancore, and in its nature so hostile to the British Government in its tendency so pernicious to the tranquillity of this country, and so manifestly subversive of the foundation of the joint interests and safety of the Honourable Company".⁹¹

The observation of Col. Macaulay vividly brings forth the fact that the outbreak of 1804 was not a mere frantic outburst for some allowances but a powerful upsurge against Col. Macaulay the representative of British Government and Dewan Velu Tampi who mortgaged the traditional rights and privileges of a dominant community which was destined to undermine the independent existence of the Kingdom. But the collusion between Velu Tampy the Principal Minister of Travancore and Col. Macaulay led to the easy, abortion of this mighty assault. Col. Macaulay duly acknowledged the assistance rendered by the Dewan. In his letter to the Governor-General, the Resident commented on the "high sense of his firmness, integrity and unabated attachment to the united interests of his master and of the Honourable Company". The Resident trusted that the Dewan would soon reap the pleasing reward of all his meritorious exertions and severe trials in the establishment of a permanent system of security for the undivided interests of his Master and of the Honourable Company within Travancore. The Dewan, the Resident further assured the Governor-General, had pledged himself to adhere to his last breath to that system of measures, which should receive and merit the approbation of His Excellency⁹². In another letter the Resident wrote, "From a review of the conduct of the present Dewan since he came to office it will be found that he has generally sought by all practicable means to maintain, extend and consolidate the principles of the alliance which connects the Rajah to the British Government and to augment the prosperity and happiness of the inhabitants of Travancore".⁹³ After the conclusion of the new treaty in 1805 Col. Macaulay wrote to the Governor-General it would only be justice to, observe that "his conduct upon this important occasion as upon many others was such as to entitle him to a very high degree of praise".

The traditional militia was dissolved. They were no more entitled to the rank of soldiers. They lost their former powers and privileges. They were completely disarmed and prohibited to maintain *Kalaris*. The chivalrous and adventurous people who opposed the aggressive reforms of the Resident and the Dewan were inhumanly massacred. The rest of the people were forced to bid adieu with their hereditary military profession which provided vast powers and high status in the society and to adopt some other profession. Formerly "These Nayars whom the king has received as his, he never dismisses, however old they may be, on the contrary they always receive their pay and rations, and he grants favours to whomever has served well, and if some years should pass without their being paid, some four or five hundred of these aggrieved rise up, and go in a body to the palace, and send word to the king that they are going away dismissed to take service under another king, because he does not give them food. Then the king sends to beg them to have patience, etc., that he will send and pay them immediately. And if he does not immediately give them a third part of what is due, and an order for the payment of the rest, they go away to another king wherever it appears to them that they can best suit themselves; and they engage with them and he receive them willingly and gives them food for 13 days, before he has them enrolled for pay. And during this time this king sends to enquire of their king if he intends to send and pay them in his pay, and gives them the same allowances which they had in their own country, from which and from their king: in such a case they remain disnaturalised. And many undertake, but a few perform this, because their king grants him a remedy, and holds it to be a great disgrace should they go. When these Nairs go to the wars, their pay is served out to them every day as long as the war lasts. The king is obliged to maintain the mother and family of any Nair who may die in the war, and the names of those persons are at once written down for their maintenance. And if these Nairs are wounded, the king has then cured at his expense, besides their pay, and has food given them all their lives or until they are cured of their wounds"⁹¹.

The arrival of the British soldiers and their supremacy in arms and organisation led to the loss of the utility of Nayar soldiers. No other king was in need of their service. Thus their condition became really pathetic. In the words of William Logan "the Nairs are the gentry and have no other duty than to carry on war and they continually carry their arms with them, which are swords, bows, arrows, buckles and lances. They all live with the kings, and some of them with other lords, relatives of the kings and lords of the country and with salaried governors and with one another"⁹⁵. Soon after the revolt they were also strictly prohibited to entertain the Nayars.

The Carnatic Brigade which Velu Tampi used for the suppression of the revolt of 1804 had retained in service in spite of the deep resentment of the Court of Directors. During the revolt of 1809 they gave leadership in the hostile preparation against the Company. They were relieved from service with the most shocking punishment. Col. Macaulay ordered that "their epa-

ulets may be stripped from their shoulders, their sashes cut in pieces and their swords broken over their heads and also dismissed"⁹⁶. Thus by the end of the revolt of 1809, the British domination upon Travancore became perfect and paramount. Though the Nayar Brigad was restored in 1830 it did not possess the early status. Recommending the restoration of Nayar Brigade in 1830, E.Cadogan wrote: "that war-like, refractory and turbulent temper for which the Nairs of Travancore were once so remarkable has totally disappeared, and they must now be regarded as a population of pacific habits placing the most implicit confidence in our protection and well convinced that safety entirely depends on the stability, support and friendship of the British Government"⁹⁷.

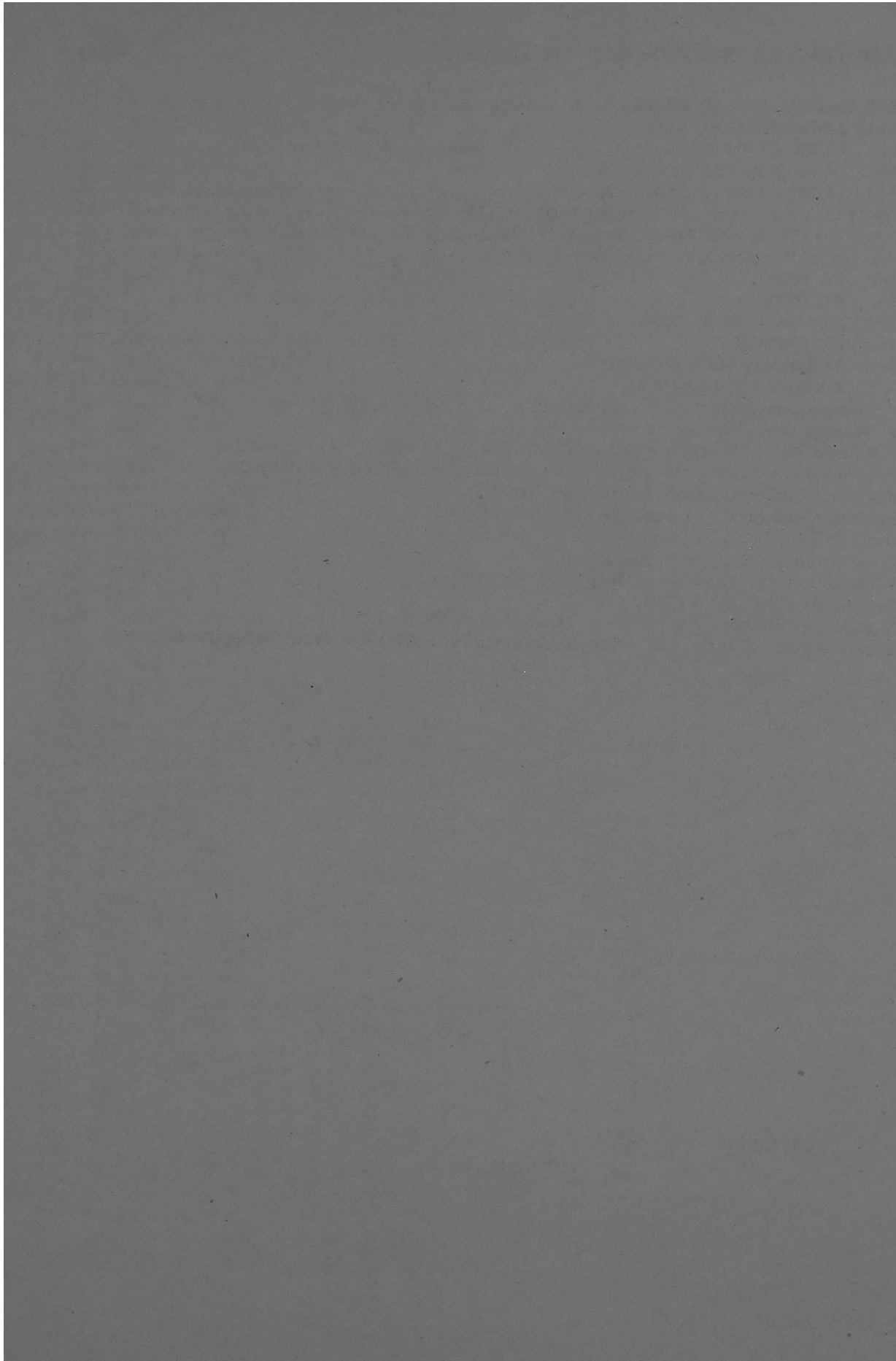
Thus Velu Tampi brought about the collapse of the dominant Nayar community. But the historians who dealt with this aspect ignored it or left unnoticed because it might be rather irksome to note that Velu Tampi who is portrayed as a mighty pillar of the Nayar community caused the ruin and destruction of the same community to safeguard his status and further to please the imperial masters. Robin Jeffrey who made an exhaustive study about the decline of Nayar dominance⁹⁸ also failed to find out this real cause of the downfall. The period (1847-1903) he assigned for the decline was certainly an epoch of rejuvenation of the community from its shackles.

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Early English Educational Institutions in Visakhapatnam

P. Manikyamba

Visakhapatnam has been a port of some eminence even from the medieval times. Its modern history seems to begin in 1765 when the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II made the coastal Andhra over to the English East India Company¹. The city was at that time directly under the Raja of Vizianagaram who remained independent for quite some time². But once it came under British sway, it was necessary for the colonial authorities to gather a small group of local people who would help and co-operate with them. Thus arose the need for making the English language known to at least a small section of people. This area which was full of tribal people attracted the attention of the Christian missionaries, who had been coming into British colonies in small groups. Exploitation of material and human resources of the area slowly called for the introduction of not only the English language but also the English system of education. The colonial authorities gradually suppressed whatever opposition there was from the Zamindar of Vizianagaram³.

The Early English school of the town can be categorised as schools for general education and industrial and technical education. In the establishment of these institutions, missionaries, non-missionaries and the Government played an active part.

As it happened elsewhere, here also the initiative for the starting of English schools and the introduction of a modern system of education was taken by the missionaries. These institutions proved to be effective instruments for winning over the people and also for the propagation of Christianity among them.

The London Mission Church which was a protestant Mission started its activities in this town in 1805 and established several small schools for Indian boys⁴. A press for publishing Telugu books was started in 1840 and supplied printed Bibles and text-books to the school boys⁵. All the above schools were amalgamated in 1844 and a native English vernacular school was created

by William Dawson. In this institution children were admitted without distinction of caste and an average of 150 boys were on rolls during the period between 1840-60. It was financed by grants from London Church, donations, fees and fines⁶.

Though old records are not available, inquiries show that subsequently co-education was introduced in this school and was elevated to the status of a high school under the name 'The London Mission Memorial High School.' It taught in addition to English language, Geography, History and such other subjects, commercial subjects like type-writing, book keeping and weaving. By the end of the century, the London Mission Church suffered with scarcity of funds and was also discouraged by the smallness of the number of conversions that are made during the century. These conditions led to the transfer of the school to the Canadian Baptist Mission which was established in 1890⁷. Since then it was known as Canadian Baptist Mission High School and was recognised by Government in 1935⁸. It continues till today as an aided institution. Late Dr. (Miss) Lazarus was a member and also Chairman of the Mission Society for many years. This school feels proud to claim Late Dr. (Miss) Lazarus, Sarvasree Sonthi Venkata Rama Murty, Vepa Ramesam, Late A.V. Bhanoji Rao, Dronamraju Satyanarayana and many others as its distinguished alumni.

A second school for boys known as St. Aloysius School was started by Roman Catholic Mission about 1848⁹. This institution was started purely for European and Anglo-Indian Children¹⁰ and admitted Indian boys only after Independence. In this school subjects like moral science, writing, reading, English language, grammar, prose writing, Geography, History of England Indian History, Arithmetic, Geometry, Algebra, Telugu Language, telegraphy, short hand, type-writing and free hand writing were taught¹¹. The school also had a band and a cadet corps of sixty strong¹². In 1890 the industrial and technical classes were separated from the school and developed into a separate institution named St. Aloysius Industrial School and was recognised by the Government 1899¹³. It was managed by Francis de'Sales. This institution continues till today with training electricians, fitters, motor mechanics, turners, and welders. The object of the school today is to impart specific technical training to the economically and socially backward youngmen and to enable them to earn a living. The former St. Aloysius School was elevated to the status of a High School in 1910 and continues till today.

The chief features of the above missionary schools were (1) the Bible was taught as a class-book. It is stated that the missionaries had one hour for Secular education and four hours Christian principles¹⁴. (2) The timings of the schools were fixed and Sunday was declared to be a holiday. (3) The schools maintained more than one teacher. So a clear-cut class system was introduced. (4) Their curriculum was wide and included technical and commercial training¹⁵.

As these systematically conducted schools were novel to the Indian society, naturally they attracted students in large numbers. Thus it was the Christian Missionaries that first started Anglo-Vernacular Schools in this town and developed a taste for English education among the people.

As it was elsewhere in Visakhapatnam also the teaching of Bible in the schools was disliked by the orthodox Hindu society. They believed that the study of the Bible would result in conversion. At the same time they longed for their children to have an English education because by that time it had become a passport to employment. Hence they endeavoured to institute non-missionary schools.

About the year 1860 the Visakhapatnam public requested the Government of Madras for the establishment of a Government school in the town. For this institution they offered a donation of Rs. 5,000/-. But the Director of Public Instruction, Macdonald disagreed stating that the missionary institutions would be adequate to meet the educational demands of the inhabitants¹⁶. There upon the Visakha Hindu Anglo-Vernacular School was started on 16th April, 1860 with the concerted efforts of Alexander Grant, Inspector of Schools, E. Fane, the then Collector of the district, Godey Narayana Gajapathi Rao and Chendiga Venkataswami Naidu¹⁷. Its first teacher was late Nalla Ramayya garu. Later this institution was elevated to a high school and taught upto Matriculation standard. For many years it was supported by subscriptions from Zamindars, i.e. Maharajah of Vizianagaram and the Zamindar of Bobbili besides some aid coming from Government officers and wealthy merchants of the town¹⁸.

The above High School was raised to the status of a second grade college in 1878 and was affiliated to Madras University under the name of Hindu College¹⁹. Subsequently a hostel was attached to this institution which provided accommodation for 50 students most of whom were Brahmins²⁰.

In the year 1899 the management of this college was changed. Ankitam Venkata Narasinga Rao, a Deputy Collector of Visakhapatnam, married into the Godey family, the landed gentry of Anakapalli area in 1892 and bequeathed a lakh of rupees besides a building fund of Rs. 15,000/- to the care of the Government for charitable purposes, namely the establishment of a college at Visakhapatnam to be named after his wife. The Committee which was appointed to execute his will had taken over the Hindu College on 1st April, 1899 and its name was changed to Mrs. A.V.N. College²¹. This institution was raised to the status of a First Grade College in July, 1944 when the B.A. Course was started mainly due to the efforts of the Old Boys, Association²². Mrs A.V.N. College is a premier educational institution to-day offering instruction upto the first degree level in the city of Visakhapatnam. It produced eminent personalities like Sarvasri Vepa Ramesam, Late B.N. Sarma, Sonti Venkata Ramamurty and late Tenneti Viswanadham.

Mrs. A.V.N. College as well as its predecessors received Government aid from the early years of their establishment. Hence the rules and regulations framed for the Government schools were generally applied to them. In his period the Government did not prescribe text books for private institutions. Some times books written by the Telugu elite like Kandukuri Veeresalingam and Chilakamarti Lakshminarasimham were introduced as text books. But generally the non-availability of other books compelled them to follow the same text-books prescribed for Government institutions. During this period societies like Madras Vernacular school book society, and Upayukta Grandha Karana Sabha supplied text-books to the educational institutions.

Some of the early English schools were started for educating Indian girls. In this period under review, women's education was disliked by the Hindu Society. But the Christian Missionaries with their religious zeal and in order to penetrate their civilization into orthodox Hindu houses made efforts in this direction. Congenial to their efforts, about this time, the age of consent was raised, Sati was abolished and prostitution was prohibited. These reforms naturally encouraged Indian girls to join in the schools for general education and training institutions which would help them to work as teachers in girl's schools.

The London Mission Church started girl's schools since their arrival in 1805.²³ Since records are not available the history of those institutions is yet to be traced. The Roman Catholic Mission started three girls' schools in this town-one is a Church namely the Roman Catholic Mission School, the other in the Fort area known as the Fort Catholic girls' School²⁴ and the third, the largest, to this day stands behind the Waltair Railway Station²⁵. These were placed under the supervision of the sisters of St. Joseph and taught reading, writing, English grammar, Geography, arithmetic, painting, sewing, embroidery and such other subjects. In these schools 125 girls received instruction²⁶.

The Roman Catholic Mission School which was started about 1849, was subsequently raised to the status of an Upper Primary School. It was recognised by the Government on 24th January, 1920 with the Registration Number 34/30, and continues to the present day as an aided institution. Mrs. B. Maheswari (Advocate), Dr. (Mrs.) K. Mangamma, and Dr. (Mrs) C. Raman and many such others have been the students of this school. The second school namely Fort Catholic Girls school which also continues till today was raised to an upper primary school in 1898²⁷ and began to receive grant on Fixed Period System in 1899²⁸. The third school namely the Roman Catholic Elementary School is also in existence. In the same campus the Sisters of St. Joseph started two high schools namely the Sacred Heart High School and St. Joseph's Girls' School (1896) the former having Telugu as a medium of instruction and the latter English. A women's College namely

the present St. Joseph's College for Women was started in 1958. At present in this campus a total of 4,000 girls are on rolls.

The main features of the Catholic Girls 'Schools were, education was free for the poor pupils and books were also supplied free of cost to them. In the curriculum were Tambourine Drill, Action Songs, drawing, needle work, economy and such other subjects. Prizes were distributed among the meritorious students every December in a function to which parents and friends were also invited. Inquiries show that the Catholic Mission faced several difficulties to attract the girls to the schools and for maintaining discipline among them. The girls were afraid of their European teachers or sisters and ran away from the schools. The sisters attracted the girls to the schools by offering gifts like books, slates, pencils, clothes and such other articles. They offered presentations even to the servant maids who brought the girls to the school. They trained the low caste girls in the maintenance of neatness and cleanliness. Hence the progress of women's education in Visakhapatnam owes much to the efforts of the Roman Catholic Mission. As the Missionaries started sufficient schools in the town the Hindus and the Government did not start girls' schools here in this century.

During this period the schools for general education suffered due to lack of efficient teachers. As the teachers training institutions required much financing private agencies were unable to maintain such institutions. Hence in this period the Government started training institutions for masters at various centres. The aim of this institutions was to provide competent teachers to Anglo-Vernacular schools and to supply efficient teachers to the elementary vernacular training schools.²⁹ The first training institution of its kind in coastal Andhra was started in Viskhapatnam in 1861.³⁰ In those days training schools were known as normal schools. The term 'normal' was applied to these institutions because these schools were to furnish the norm or standard or rules for the other schools. Since the name continued to be the official designation in France, Great Britain had discarded it in favour of the term 'Training School' or 'Training College'³¹. During this period under consideration there was less demand for normal schools because in private institutions the teachers were offered low salaries and pension faciities were not provided for. The Government schools which provided high salaries and pension facilities were small in number. Hence, the students who had passed Matriculation either proceeded to University education or settled in a Government job. To encourage the students the Government instituted scholarship for students under training and taught general education simultaneously. The studens of these insittutions had to enter into a bond with the Government for five years promising to work as teachers.³² Even then after five years the teachers sought employment in other departments. Under these conditions the Hindu High School at this place was raised to a Second Grade College in 1878 as mentioned earlier, and the Matriculates joned in that institution for higher studies. Since then there was less demand in the normal

school and hence the status of this institution was reduced to prepare fifth grade teachers only.³³ The school continued till 1967 and in that year transferred to Bhimilipatnam.

In addition to these schools for general and technical education several orphanages and sunday schools were also started in this period. These institutions, which were started by Christian Missionaries proved to be powerful instruments for preaching Christianity among low castes and orphans. The orphan asylums provided free boarding and lodging facilities in addition to free education. These institutions naturally attracted the lower castes of Hindu society who were poor and had less opportunities to increase their social status or get economic independence. The frequent occurrence of famines during this period increased their demand as the famine refugees were also admitted in these institutions. The low caste people and orphans who were admitted in the asylums, were converted into Christianity and were trained in the propagation of the religion. Simultaneously they were trained in commercial and technical subjects which enabled them to earn a living. Among this category of institutions the famous one was known as the Vizag male and Female Orphan Asylum established by the London Missionary Society in 1805.³⁴ According to the local people the institution was first transferred to Vizianagaram and from there to Kasimkota where it is still in existence. The second category namely sunday schools were started by every missionary society to preach Bible to Indian children. The missionaries attracted the pupils to these schools by offering slates, books, pencils and other such things to the poor.

Thus the early English schools of the period were started by three agencies viz., the missionary, non-missionary and Government with three different aims—the missionaries for the propagation of Christianity, the Hindus for imparting western education and enable the children to secure employment under government and the Government to form a small group of local people to cooperate with them in their administration, as strong pillars of support. The institutions succeeded in satisfying them to some extent but they succeeded even more in westernising Indians to a certain extent inculcating individualistic ideas and the power of logic. The English language enabled the people to establish contact with the inhabitants of not only other parts of India but also with the out side world. Many of the early institutions continue till today with increased departments, staff and students.

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Some Mid-Seventeenth Century Aurangabad Raga-Ragini Miniatures In The Salar Jung Museum Hyderabad

Dr. D.N. Varma

Musicologists, musicians and poets were enamoured of the idea of a visual form for musical modes since hoary antiquity. They began by visualising gods and goddesses as presiding deities for Ragas and Raginis and ended up by visualising amorous situations corresponding to the moods, the musical modes sought to create. The painted versions of Ragas and Raginis as deities evoked little response but when Ragas and Raginis were painted as Nayakas and Nayikas idealised heroes and heroines placed in dramatic situations, the idea caught up. Some two dozen pre-1600 A.D. paintings testify to the popularity of the theme with the Deccani Sultans.

We have reasons to believe that the Bijapur Court should have been the centre of feverish activity in the production of Raga Ragini paintings from the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Ibrahim adil Shah (1580—1627 A.D.) was infatuated with music. He styled himself as Jagat Guru, was an excellent Vina player and is also known to have been an excellent calligrapher and a patron of painters². The testimony of Asad Beg, Akbar's envoy to Bijapur would have been sufficient to support his involvement with music but he has also left behind his work *Kitab-i-Nauras* which provides the pen-portraits of quite a few prevalent Ragas and Raginis³. These pen-portraits though on the line of prevailing tradition of Sanskrit Dhyanshloka are not slavish imitation of any known Sanskrit text but quite original.

It is indeed a great disappointment to students of art-history that actual specimens of Raga and Ragini miniatures of the first quarter of seventeenth century or for that matter of the entire seventeenth century are few and far between. The few examples are the Laud Ragamala set whose provenance is disputed⁴ and a five folio set from Bijapur c. 1680, formerly in the Khajanchi collection. Only later in the 18th and 19th century, do we find an abundance of Deccani Ragamala painting emanating mostly from Hyderabad⁵.

It would thus be evident that every single Deccani Raga and Ragini painting of the seventeenth century is fraught with significance. The pre-seventeenth

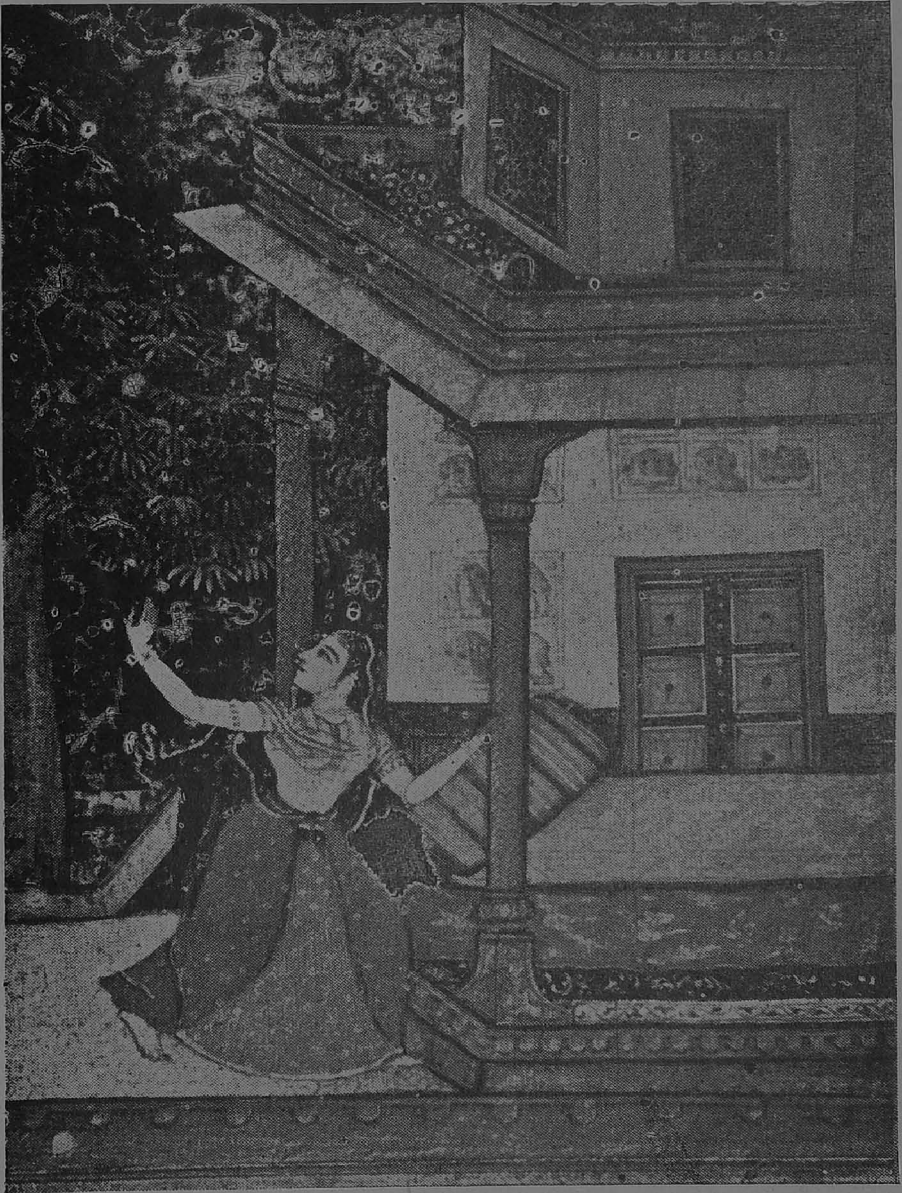
century available paintings and the eighteenth and nineteenth century tradition reveal an open chasm which is yet to be closed, and it is these stray examples which will eventually act as a bridge on the yawning chasm. The study of the later sets is equally important for a study of variations in iconography between the Deccani and other traditions and for spelling out some identifiable individuality to the Deccani tradition.

The Salar Jung Museum happens to have a number of mid-seventeenth century Raga Ragini miniatures. Two of them have the name of the Ragini inscribed on top left in Telugu characters and on top right in Persian script. Obviously they belonged to a set of Ragamala though the folios are not numbered and the other members of the set are not available in any known collection. In a third painting which is almost a member of this set the Telugu inscription does not appear though the inscription in Persian script can be seen.

The first painting is numbered M.S.P. 689 and its label mentions it as Abhiri Ragini. It shows a group of five women engaged in the task of procuring water from a well. One of the women is actually engaged in pouring water from a small pot which she has just drawn from the well into a bigger pot while another woman is trying to lift a pot of water from the ground to her head and is depicted in a stooping posture. The three other women are on their way home and each of them carries two pots of water over her head. Their apparel consists of a very short blouse revealing half their breasts, a ghaghara and a dupatta. They wear ear ornaments, armlets and chudis on their wrists. The background consists of shrubs on a hilly landscape. Relying on the style, the painting could be dated to around 1625 A.D., and should have been painted in the Aurangabad region.

Hardly anyone would suspect that this prosaic little painting (18.4 cms. x 15.5 cms) is fraught with significance in the history of Deccani Paintings of Musical inspiration. The name Abhiri appears only once in traditions other than Pahari, in the earliest known Ragamala (of circa 1475 A.D.) executed in Western Indian style where this Ragini is visualised as a goddess with the buffalo as her Vahana and holding a lotus flower in her left hand. A century lies between this Ragamala and the next surviving examples of Ragamala paintings which reveal a much more developed conception and not even a trace of influence of this early series. The Pahari tradition associates Abhiri Ragini with the hiss of a snake as its source of inspiration and the verses of Kshema Karana, have an entirely different conception of this Ragini like so many other Ragas and Raginis of the Pahari tradition. So we can leave the Pahari tradition alone.

What then was the text which included this Ragini in its system and conceived it in terms of the Salar Jung Museum miniature? The painters system popular all over the country or the Hanuman's system having its sway over parts of Rajasthan does not include this Ragini and we cannot expect to find



Ragini Madhumadhani Miniature Painting

a dhyana shloka in texts of music which were the basis for pictures of Ragas and Raginis following the painters or Hanuman's system. The search would be futile if we look for a visualisation of the Abhiri Ragini in Ragamala sets made after the Hanuman or Painters system.

A helpful circumstance is that another Ragini called Gujjari presents a similar iconography in quite a few Daccani examples. The pictures of this Ragini after the painters and Hanuman's system from the other parts of country have a very general Dhyanshloka describing it as a well clad beautiful woman. Some suggest a Vina in her hand. As both Gujjari and Abhiri appear to be associated with the Gujjar and Abhir tribes thier tribal melodies in the course of the centuries got merged into one and their visual form showed no distinction at least in the Deccan. In some such pictures the Ragini is depicted as women carrying water pots, in others Krishna is introduced teasing and stopping the maidens and in yet another Krishna is replaced by a noble. A Persian inscription on one such painting describes the following picture of Gujjari, "Its time is two hours after sunrise. Three fair-faced damsels are bringing water from the river Jumna. Kisandeo (Krishna) having obstructed their way, he makes jokes with them and does not allow them to proceed ⁶.

However, this only explains that in the 18th c.A.D. the weak Gujjari iconography of Hanuman's and Painters system got merged with the iconography of Abhiri Ragini prevailing in the Deccan viz; women carrying water pots on their heads. The question as to which system of classification included Abhiri as a consort of a Raga remains⁷ unanswered. The answer is available in Someswara's system of classification. It may be noted that king Someswara ruled in Deccan and was a Chalukya of Kalyani and Abhiri is still a living Raga in the Karnataka system of music. Some other early Deccani Raga-Ragini Paintings e.g. Bahuli, Kalyani and Tirvani are also not covered by any other system of music except Someswara's and it is in this context that the painting under discussion assumes tremendous significance. The Ragini Abhiri appears as the consort of Raga Nata Narayana, in Somesvara's system of musical classification. The number of Ragas in this system are also six like the Hanuman's or Painter system but each of the Ragas have one more consort than the usual five consorts of the other systems. Paintings made after this system of classification are therefore likely to have six unusual visualisations.

The village well was an interesting place in mediaeval India as it provided the women an opportunity to mix with each other and also to gossip. It had indeed a strong visual impact and it is not surprising that in the Pahari tradition this scene at the well was adopted to represent Kumbha Raga putra ⁸. According to Kshemakaran, the jet of water out of a pitcher makes resound the musical mode Kumbha (Pitcher).⁹ Did any Deccani painter migrate to the Punjab Hills? Did they exchange ideas?

It would be interesting to note that at least on one occasion the artist used this iconography to illustrate Ragini Marva or Maru in an eighteenth century Deccani Ragamala set now in the Kankroli collection¹⁰.

The second painting of the 1625 A.D. set from Aurangabad is that of Ragini Madhu-Madhavi according to the inscription is persian and Telugu scripts and is numbered MSP 832. The dimension of the painting is 17.4X14.7 cms. The picture shows a double storeyed pavilion on the left half of the pictorial area and a mango tree on the right side. A streak of lighting is depicted in the sky and the lonely maid appears to be in a hurry to rush inside the pavilion which is having a pillow and a bed. The maid wears a short choli, ghaghara and dupatta. There is no problem of identification as many well known, paintings of Ragini Madhumadhavi from the Manley collection¹¹, the Johnson Album 43¹², and one from Gopi Krishna Kanoria collection¹³ are similar.

The third painting which appears to belong to this set is numbered M.S. P.834. It has the label only in the Persian script and the Telugu version is missing. The label reads Godhakari Ragini. The painting depicts two women engaged in preparing a floral bed in front of pavilion with an empty bed and a pillow. The women wear a short blouse, skirt and dupatta. A third woman clad in similar attire is seen entering a room on the right side. The door of the room has a spotted curtain over it. The dimension of the painting is 20.2 cms x 16.0 cms. and the treatment of the figures, dress ornamentation and architecture is so similar to the previous painting that there need not be any doubt about their belonging to the same Ragamala set.

There can be little doubt that this painting is a representation of the Gaunda Kari Ragini. The Dhyanshloka in the Manley Ragamala copy of this Ragini can be translated thus; "Tormented with love, preparing a couch of soft flowers, and watching the path of the beloved. A female messenger, casting in the night her glances here and there, this dark clad one is well known as Gaunda¹⁴".

The second group of seventeenth century Deccani Ragini miniatures in the Salar Jung Museum consists of seven miniatures, None of them excepting one carry any dhyanshloka or even a label identifying them as a Ragini but the iconography of all of them is so well known that there can be hardly any doubt that they are miniatures of musical inspiration. Their size is around 16.0 cms. x 11.0 cms and all of them have certain other common features also which make it obvious that they all belong to a Ragamala set. They should have been painted at Aurangabad around 1650 A.D.

The lone example which has a label in the Persian script identifying it as Gauri Ragini presents the picture of a lonely woman in a beautiful landscape. The female figure of M.S.P. 704 wears a short blouse, a skirt and a

dupatta and stands between plantain and other trees by the side of a running stream. The water stream has three lilies and two ducks swimming in it. The background consists of a roundish hillock with trees on it. Among the flowering shrubs some flowers resembling holyhocks are very prominent.

Dr. Norman Brown has translated the *Dhyanaashloka* in Braja Bhasha appearing on a circa 1550 A.D. Painting of Ragini Gauri from a Ragamala set thus, "With body fair of colour like a champaka flower, she tarries in the garden, confused in mind. In her hand she takes a cluster of wishing tree flowers. In beauty she is like *Urvashi*; no companion is with her¹⁵". The painting under discussion follows the stipulations excepting the depiction of a cluster of wishing-tree flowers in the hand of the Ragini. In an 18th century Ragamala from Hyderabad the Ragini Gauri has been treated as the wife of Raga Sri¹⁶, a typically Deccani association because in the painters and the Hanuman's system Gauri is treated as the wife of Malkosa.

The second painting of this group, M.S.P 839 depicts a noble embracing a lady inside the peristyle of a pavilion. The pillars of the pavilion are slender, it has a projecting cornice and a dome and the doors of the pavilion are curtained. The couple is shown seated. A maid servant holding a flywhisk has averted her face shyly away from the scene of love making.

Malavi Ragini of Raga Malkosa in the Painters system and of Raga Sri in the Hanuman's system has had strong erotic undertones from the time of the earliest Ragamalas. An early Ragamala of about 1575 A.D. in the Bharat Kala Bhavana Varanasi¹⁷ and the Provincial Mughal Ragamala of Dr. Manley now in the Victoria and Albert Museum London have the same *dhyanaashloka* for Malavi, "The fair-hipped one has kissed his lotus-face His brightness is as the parrot's, and he wears pendants in his ears. At eventide, intoxicated, he enters the house of the tryst with a garland in his hand. (He is) the Malava Raga King". The Boston, Museum of Fine Arts' version of Malavi Ragini of about 1630 A.D., has a Hindi *Dhyanaashloka* by the poet Lachiman which has been translated by A.K. Coomaraswamy thus, "Very great is the bliss of the union of him and her, such as never been heard of: the union is full and perfect joy, God brought it about by design¹⁸".

All the above miniatures show a couple in embrace but they have been depicted standing. The garland is quite prominent in the last two examples but the Bharat Kala Bhavan specimen does not show the garland. The garland is absent even in the Laud Ragamala version¹⁹ of the Bodleian Library. Perhaps the Deccani artist never regarded it as an important element of the *dhyana* of Malavi.

However, the poetic Deccani touch in the Salar Jung Museum specimen manifests itself neither in the sitting posture nor in the absence of the garland

but in the averted face of the coy female flywhisk bearer. A later specimen having a similar composition bears a Persian inscription which has been translated thus, "Six hours after sunrise. The lover with coquetry, takes the beloved into the bed chamber. The attendant, being ashamed of this act, turns away her face²⁰".

It is obvious that the Persian inscription appearing on this Ragamala of Hyderabad executed in the 18th century and now in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay¹ is basically a description of picture and cannot be any older than the picture. The name of the Ragini is given as Sugrai.

It is not difficult to surmise, that a lesser known Ragini in Deccan, Malavi was replaced by a more popular Ragini Sugrai. It is difficult to say when exactly this substitution occurred but the Salar Jung Museum specimen is a pointer that the iconography of Ragini Sugrai had evolved by the middle of the seventeenth century.²² It must be noted that other variations like a couple walking in a garden hand in hand were also used for representing Sugrai upto the 18th century but the 18th century Hyderabad Ragamala sets incorporating Sugrai as a Ragini did not treat it as the consort of Malkosa or Sri Raga as Malavi was treated in other systems but as the consort of Raga Dipak.²³ It may further be added that Ragini Sugrai is a typically Deccani Ragini and is not found in any other known tradition, not even in the Pahari tradition.

The next painting of the group depicts a young maiden wearing a short blouse, odhni and skirt, holding a Vina in her left hand. She extends her right hand towards a couple of deer who have come near her. The miniature numbered M.S.P. 701 presents a scenic background with foliage and a hemispherical hillock immediately behind the main figure. A stream flowing in the foreground provides the setting for water lilies and ducks.

It is obvious that the miniature is a representation of Todi Ragini. Waldschmidt while writing about the A.D. 1575 Bharat Kala Bhavana Ragamala⁴ provides the following translation of the Todi dhyanshloka, "The Nayika walks lonely with her Vina in hands amidst the trees of a forest, surrounded by deer which she has fascinated by her play²". The iconography does not show any notable change.

The fourth painting of the group, M.S.P. 702, depicts, a lonely woman with a peacock on either side. The background is scenic with trees and hillocks and in the foreground appears a stream of water with water lilies in it.

The Chawand Ragamala²⁶ of 1605 and Manley Ragamala include the representation of Ragini Kakubh and both of them have a dhyanshloka which can be translated thus, "In a yellow robe, with beautiful hair; weeping in the wood and unhappy when the cuckoo calls, Kakubha much-frightened looks

about her. This form is enjoined for Kakubha". The 18th century Deccani Ragamala with Persian inscription²⁷ has the following to say about Kakubha, "To be sung in March. In an open woodland she sits on a mound and plays the Vina. The peacocks are attracted, enamoured by the music."

The miniature under discussion clearly reveals that upto the middle of the seventeenth century the main elements in the representation of Kakubh Ragini in Deccan were a sorrowing lady, a forest background and peacocks. It was only in the 18th century that this Ragini came to be represented as a lady playing Vina amidst peacocks.

M.S.P. 703, the next painting of this group is so much like M.S.P. 832, a representation of Ragini. Madhumadhavi discussed earlier, that it need not be elaborated.

The sixth painting of this group M.S.P. 831, depicts a lady performing pooja in a Shiva temple. The temple has a pyramidical cupola and a Nandi shrine. The water tank of the temple has two ducks in it. The background consists of hillocks and trees. There is a female attendant also accompanying the lady. There can be hardly any doubt that it is a representation of the Bhairavi Ragini.

The artist who attempted this composition had little opportunity to depict water but he made the most of the water tank of the temple. The well-known Bhairavi Dhyanshloka²⁸ appearing in the A.D. 1575 Bharat Kala Bhavana and other sets is, "Out in the lake, in a shrine, of crystal, she worships Shiva with songs punctuated by the beat, the fair one, the bright one, that is Nada-Bhairavi."

The last painting of this group, M.S.P. 833, presents a triangular pavilion with mehrab, chhajja and cupola. The pillars are plain. Brahma has been shown seated in this pavilion on a multi-petalled lotus teaching perhaps a musical mode to a maiden in blouse, skirt and dupatta standing on the right side. Brahma has four faces and out of the four hands depicted he holds nothing in three hands while the upper left hand holds a book. In the foreground we can see two full pots, a water flask and a tray full of pooja accessories. A duck appears in this miniature also as in so many others of this group.

The Khambhavati dhyanshloka in the 1575 A.D. Bharat Kala Bhavan set,²⁹ the Chawand set, the Manley set and in so many other sets is, 'Clad as brightly as the autumn moon, dazzling as the jasmine Khambhavati's Vedic devotions and manifold service to Brahma find acceptance by the Four-headed (i.e. Brahma)''.

In Hyderabad Ragamalas of 18th century A.D., Khambaj replaced the Ragini Khambhavati³⁰ and the Persian inscription on one such set reveals

utter ignorance of Hindu mythology. The inscription could be translated as, "A giant of four faces and four hands is seated on a chair, worshipped by his wife. An attendant waves a fly-whisk."

There are two more paintings in the collection of Salar Jung Museum which represent the Raginis and should have been painted at Aurangabad around 1650 A.D. Painting No. M.S.P. 840 is a representation of Khambaj or Khamach Ragini, as Khambhavati came to be known in Deccan in later times. It is similar to the miniature discussed above.

S.J.M.179/XXIX is similar in dimensions to the previous painting i.e. 20.0 cms. x 15.5 cms. and has a similar border. Normally it would not have been regarded as a representation of any Ragini but with all its similarity to the format of the Khambhavati painting it deserves attention and a closer look.

The miniature depicts a lady sitting cross legged on a platform like bed, below a canopy. She has her arms raised over her head and face turned to one side. A female attendant sitting on the other side is offering a pan to the lady.

Could it be Ragini Desavarati? The Manley and the Chawand Ragamala specimens of Ragini Desavarati carry the Dhyana shloka which means, "At ease and in silence, her body twisted as the creeper, arms upstretched and rolling eyes such shall be Desavarati, the fair one"¹.

However, Desavarati did not find favour in 18th century Deccan. It would be interesting to note that ladies eating pan is the theme of a late 17th century Madhumadhavi painting from Sirohi now in the Prince of Wales Museum and also of a Gunakali painting, again a late 17th century Sirohi work now in the Cleveland Museum of Art³². One wonders whether the Sirohi artists got the cue from the Aurangabad painter of the middle of the 17th century who was the first person to be taken in so much by the visual impact of this every day homely occurrence that he incorporated it into the Ragamala theme. Finally in the middle of the 18th century the Pahari painter made use of the idea in portraying Raga Malkausa, though the relevant dhyana shloka of Malkausa by Khsema Karna says nothing about offering of the betel.³³

A study of merely a dozen miniatures cannot provide any significant conclusion but it certainly highlights the importance of studying seventeenth century Deccani miniatures on the Raga-Ragini theme scattered all over the country in museums and private collections. The mutual give and take of the Rajasthani and Deccani traditions has all along been appreciated but two of the studied Deccani miniatures point out that the Pahari tradition could

also have been influenced by the iconography of the 17th century Deccani paintings of musical inspiration.

In the absence of captions and folio numbers it is not possible to say to which system of classification do these miniatures adhere to but it is possible that Someswara's system of classification was in use in Deccan even in the middle of the seventeenth century. The name Abhiri Ragini never features again in Deccani Ragamalas of later times and it is possible that Someswara's system lost its popularity in later times.

While many of these miniatures reveal an iconography known in other part of the country as well there are indications that the Deccani artist was not averse to the idea of evolving his own idiom. It was this tendency which imparted such an individuality to the 18th century Deccani Ragamala works. Perhaps some more similar miniatures will go a long way in bridging the gap between the earlier and later Deccani Ragamala tradition.

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19. Stooke and Khandalavala, "*Laud Ragamala Miniatures*", Oxford 1953.
20. Gangoly, O.C. *op. cit.* pl. CX
21. Prince of Wales Museum Bombay No. 22.287 to 322.

22. Miniature No.S.J.M.39/XXXII of Salar Jung Museum is a similar example.
23. Ebeling *op. cit.* Charts on p.194
24. Krishna A. *op. cit.*
25. Waldschmidt E, A contribution to Ragamal Iconography, Bhartiya Vidya, Vol. XX-XXI, 1960—1.
26. A few paintings of this set are in the collection of Sri Gopi Krishna Kanoria, Calcutta and Kakubh is one of them.
27. Gangoly *op. cit.*
28. Waldschmidt *op. cit.*
29. Waldschmidt *op. cit.*
30. Gangoly *op. cit.* pl. CX.
31. Ebeling Klaus, *op. cit.* p. 124
32. *Ibid* pls [220] and [221]
33. Waldschmidt, Miniatures of Musical inspiration plate 56.

News and Views

THE END OF THE WORLD

Archival News

Archives Week—1980.

The Archives week was celebrated from 4th to 10th December 1980. The week was inaugurated by Sri. P.V. Chowdary Honourable Minister for Archives. Sri P. Sitapati, Commissioner for Archives, Archaeology and Museums presided over the function. On the occasion, Sri P.V. Chowdary also declared open permanent re-organised Archival Museum. A large number of people from various walks of life visited the Museum. The Films Division, Hyderabad, Television, the All India Radio, gave wide publicity to the Archives week by making films on archival documents and publicised the importance of Archives through their respective medias.

Highlighting the archival exhibition and the activities of the archives Sri. P. Sitapati, I.A.S., stated:

“The Andhra Pradesh State Archives at Hyderabad holds in trust an enormous bulk of extremely valuable records of permanent value dating back to 14th century A.D. Our oldest record here is dated to 14th century. These archival records serve as the primary source of information on the economic, political and social history of India especially, south India, and form a priceless part of our cultural heritage. The Andhra Pradesh Archives which is a research institution of international standing conserves these materials for posterity and makes them available for the use of Government and for scholarly research”.

“Modern scientific techniques and principles of archival science have been adopted for the physical care and up-keep of the records; microfilming is also being undertaken on a large scale to preserve cheaply, saving record room space, and to facilitate easy accessibility and study by research scholars. Thus employing modern techniques of Archives keeping and scientific record management, the Department continues its mission of keeping valuable documents in an orderly manner and making them available for reference, research and publication. This Department regularly provides professional advice, service and guidance to various agencies of the Government at Head-quarters and district level in the maintenance of important records.”

“Public documents are the property of the Nation. While administrators and historians have long realised the importance of archives, the general public is still, to catch up and be aware of the importance of Archives”.

“The documents exhibited in the Archives Museum have been chosen from our official records as well as from private papers in the Archives, and are illustrative of the nature of the collections held by the Andhra Pradesh Archives. Some of the exhibits relate to important episodes in our history while some others show fine specimens of calligraphy. Yet others have been displayed for the ornamentation in them. A few documents bear the signatures or hand writing of some eminent personalities such as the Father of the Nation Mahatma Gandhiji. The documents exhibited cover a wide range of subjects like Literature, Socio- Economic, Education, History, Politics, etc., in the various languages viz., Persian, Telugu, Marathi, Urdu and English”.

Archival Museum

For the general interest of readers and the scholar the contents of the Archival Museum are briefly indicated below. This will also give an idea about the enormous bulk and variety of records preserved in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives.

The State Archives Museum has been re-organized broadly into eight Sections, each having several units. The first section arranged in chronological order, consists of original records in the following six units:

1. Bahmani, 2. Qutb Shahi, 3. Adil Shahi, 4. Mughal, 5. Asaf Jahi and 6. Andhra District records of former Madras Presidency including Mackenzie and Brown Collection of Telugu Documents.

Each document has been given a caption with a brief note highlighting the salient points contained in the document.

In the second section of six units the documents have been displayed in accordance with the following disciplines of social sciences.

(1). Administrative History; (2). Social History; (3). Economic History; (4). Political History; (5). History of Freedom Struggle; and (6) Religious aspects with plans, maps of the Tirupati, Tirumala temples.

In the third section there are three units, and there are photo copies of the documents relating to two important personalities and one institution. They are: (1). Letters of Mahatma Gandhi; (2) Founding of Osmania University and (3) Alluri Sita Ram Raju.

The fourth section displays some specimen of bilingual documents i.e., Persian-Marathi and Persian-Telugu documents belonging to the Archives.

Unique Telugu *Farmans* issued by Abul Hasan Qutb Shah of Golconda are displayed in the fifth section.

The Sixth section of the Museum is of more general interest with the exhibits of Nizam's postal stamps, seals, buttons, badges, currency notes, paintings, plans of city and forts.

The seventh section contains the display of the rare manuscripts under following two units.

- (1.) Sanskrit: Palm-Leaf and Paper manuscripts of Archives,
- (2) Arabic and Persian Manuscripts of Archives. They are mostly illuminated with miniature paintings.

In the museum are also displayed photographs of the rulers, Prime Ministers, Diwans and Peshwas of different periods. Besides photographs of some important Prime Ministers, administrators and social reformers have also been exhibited separately.

In the eighth section, the activities of Archives Department have also been illustrated through the photos of different sections of the department and their working.

Besides the archival documents the another important high-light of the Museum is the display of stone sculpture of Sarawsati, the Bronze sculptures of Rukmini, Venugopala and Satya Bhama, kindly presented to the Archives by the Commissioner, Sri P. Sitapati. These sculptures have been supported by photograph of the temples in Andhra Pradesh, which were also presented to the Archives by the Commissioner.

Archival Publications.

On 4th December, 1980 during the Archives week celebrations, Honourable Minister, Sri P.V. Chowdary released the following two important Archival publications of Persian Documents:

- (1) *Mughal Documents—Catalogue of Aurangzeb's Reign, Volume I (Part I)—(1658-1663 A.D.)**
General Editor: Sri P. Sitapati, I.A.S.,
Edited and Compiled by Dr. M.A. Nayeem.

* Part two of the Volume one is ready—will be released in June/July, 1981.

(2) *Farmans and Sanads of the Deccan Sultans.*
(Revised and Enlarged edition).

General Editor: Sri P. Sitapati, I.A.S.

Joint Editor: Dr. M.A. Nayeem.

On the occasion of the Second world Telugu Conference held at Kuala Lampur, Malaysia, between 14th–19th April, 1981, the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, co-operated with the International Telugu Institute and brought out a Special issue of Archives' Journal *Itihas*, devoted exclusively to the "Temples of Andhra Pradesh—History, Art and Architecture". The Special Issue of the *Itihas* was released by Sri N. Chandra Babu Naidu, Honourable Minister for Archives, Archaeology and Museums, Films Development and Libraries, on 5th May, 1981 at a special function.

Some Private Collections in the Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad

A. John

Archives are the most reliable and inexhaustible source for the increase of our knowledge. Thus they should be properly and sufficiently preserved and made adequately available for study as a national interest of the first importance.

Besides the official archives preserved by the Governments, there existss a large number of private archives under the possession of many persons who had held posts of eminence or achieved eminence in their private capacities. These are spread all over our Country and they are part of heritage.

The private archives consists of the manuscripts of different languages on various topics having a bearing on political, social and economic history; personal and administrative papers of the ex-rules; their diaries and accounts, records missionaries, temples, mutts; the files relating to the old educational institutions and rare books etc.

Huge mass of historical manuscripts lie unnoticed and uncared for in private custody. The owners in many cases had neither requisite means nor the necessary knowledge to provide for the safe storage and preservation. The records can throw much new light on the comparatively unknown aspects of our history and particularly the influence of it in the shaping of the character and habits of the people.

However the custodians of the private archives have their own problems in allowing the use of their ancestral papers to the unknown individuals. The acquisition of these records is necessary for scientific preservation and historical research by the posterity.

Realising the importance of the private archives, the Government of British India in its circular dated 16th September, 1941, had directed Indian Historical Records Commission to set up Local Survey committees for the systematic survey of the records in private custody and to provide for their preservation. Accordingly the Indian Historical Records Survey Committee set up regional survy committees in 1942. In March 1947, the Indian Historical Records Survey Committee recommended to compile a National Register

of records of the entire archival wealth of the country lying with the public, semi-public institutions and private records. Nothing came out of the proposal because of the colossal nature of the task, involving heavy finances. In 1957, in view of the mounting pressure of the scholarly opinion, the Government of India felt that a beginning should be made to preserve the private archives and invited the State Governments to co-operate with the National Archives for the compilation of the National Register.

Following the directive of the Government of India, the state Archives Andhra Pradesh appointed three Research Assistants, each for one of the three regions i. e. Telangana, Rayalaseema and Andhra to survey and compile the records.

Consequently during the period from 1972-1977 the following collections from different private persons, both in manuscripts and printed form were acquired.

1. *Smt. Patwari Narasingamma, Collection*

Dr. Diwakarla Venkatavadhani has given a copy of the copper plate inscription to the State Archives. The real owners of the original copper plate inscription is Smt. Patwari Narasingamma of Kothakota, Mahabnagar district.

The copper plate inscription is in Telugu. It contains information about the land grant by Krishna Deva Raya in 1527 A. D. to one Nandimpall Madirajuna, authority to administer the village of Pallepadu, Dasarlapalle etc. 'in the vicinity of Srisailam. The copper plate inscription has much historical value.

2. *Sri Gullapalli Adinarayana Volume*

Sri Adinarayana, freedom fighter of Prakasam district donated one Souvenir entitled, a "Gullapalli Adinarayana 60th Birthday Celebrations Volume" (Telugu). It contains a great deal of information on the political-cultural history of Ongole, the Library movement, the note worthy no-Tax Campaign during the freedom movement and resistance of Edumudi and Duddukar villages against the onslaughts of the British. It also gives brief history of the temples in the Ongole area and also provides useful information about the freedom fighters of that region.

3. *Appa Rao Gurazada Collection (1861-1915)*

The collection was donated by the Manager, Vishal Andhra Publishing House, Vijayawada. Manuscripts of dramas written by Gurazada is Kondu Bhattlu Chitrangi Kamalini and other short stories are included in this collection. He was a crusader against social evils and unjust doings of the soci-

correspondence with Kandukuri Verslingam Panthulu, Jayanthi Ramayya Panthulu, Gidugu Ramamoorthi, Konda Venkatappaiah, Gudipati Venkatachalam, throws much light on Appa Rao's genius including his literary acumen and nationalistic out-look.

The correspondence also provide glimpses of Appa Rao's biting satire on age old superstitions and his fiery shorts did much to undermine all respect for traditionalism. His writings and views had instilled the people at large. Indeed the collection throws a some light on the development of Telugu literature.

4. *Bahadur Yar Jung Collection*

Sri, Mahammad Nazeeruddin Ahmed of Hyderabad has donated some of the papers belonging to late Bahadur Yar Jung to this institution. The collection consists of: (a) The Urdu paper cuttings of Bahadur Yar Jung: (b) Articles on Bahadur Yar Jung in Hindi: (c) The paper of *Percham, Shawoor* etc., in Urdu. The papers give useful information on socio-political matters. Late Bahadur Yar Jung was a prominent leader in the erstwhile Hyderabad State and a close associate of Qasim Razvi who spear headed the so called "Razakar movement". The local newspapers to a great extent were the representatives of local feelings and that their utterances were not merely newspaper fulminations but factual grievances.

5. *Dr. Palakrishna Katragadda Collection. (1898—1984)*

Dr. K.B. Krishna's collection has been given to Archivs on indefinite loan by Sri Kambhampati Satyanarayana (Senior). Dr. K.B. Krishna's papers cover subjects of varied interests like, Indian materialism, problem of linguistic Provinces in India, social and political thought of Buddhist writers in the early Christian Era, theories of Kingship in ancient India, problem of minorities in India etc. He had a penetrating view of the capitalist system of production. His incisive writings on History of working class, and class struggle, the origin and growth of Modern democratic ideas are highly thought provoking. The writings approach the problem of narrating the history of economic thought from an angle which could be called unque in its own inimitable features. In has notes on "Second World-War" and 'Industrialisation in India, Dr. Krishna succinctly observed that the story of the industrial development of India is the story of accumulation and investment of capital industries. It is at the same time a story of the struggles against fendalism (landed interests) and Imperialism (British Policy in India R.K.S). It is also a story of struggles among themselves. In his studies on Hindu Materialism Dr. Krishna poignantly pointed out that the Research in India did not reflect the needs of the peasantry. If civilization has made peasantry its pack animal, in India the peasantry is treated worse than a pack animal.

In his essay on "A theory of Independence," Dr. Krishna aptly remarks that the role of the working class and of its vanguard in the colonial revolution cannot be understood without understanding the dialectic of unequal social development... without union with the peasantry the structure of imperialistic rule is not to be overthrown. Dr. K.B. Krishna's *History of Communist Activities in India*, *Dangers of Indian Nationalism*, *Factory Legislation in India* will be an asset to the students of socio-economic history and helpful for undertaking further research.

6. *The Federation of Andhra Pradesh Chambers of Commerce and Industry Volumes.*

Business community is the back-bone of the country's economy. The FAPCCI has donated 15 volumes of its yearly reports from 1962-1974 to the State Archives. The reports throw much light on individual business houses, their regulations and their relationship to society and the Government. They also provide information on the labour and price problems of sick industries in Andhra Pradesh. The reports also give FAPCCI views on export oriented industries in Andhra Pradesh. On the whole the reports may serve to fill the quantitative gaps in the economic history of Andhra Pradesh.

7. *Vavilala Gopala Krishnayya Collection*

Sri Vavilala Gopala Krishnayya Legislator in the Andhra and Andhra Pradesh Assemblies, has donated nearly 90 papers mainly the articles written by him in Telugu and published in *Andhra Prabha* (daily) '*Pragati*' *Vahini* *Prajabandu* '*Uttarandra*' '*Padmasali*' etc.

The collection constitutes a valuable contribution to the study on the plight of Andhras in the neighbouring regions like, Bastar, Assam, Orissa etc. The paper clippings of Vavilala also narrate the peoples movement for Visalandhra from the composite Madras State. Vavilala's articles on the conditions of Andhra were stirred the people. His articles '*Doora drustilani Andhra Nayakulu*' (Lack of fore sight among Andhra Leaders) *Eppati kappadu paragadupana*, (Starvation — a perennial one) *Prastutam Andhra jati Pondutunna Anyam* (Injustice being done to Andhras) were among the collections.

In his article "Nizam Jagirdarlaraddu Sasanam Lopalu" (Defects in Nizam Zamindari Act Abolition), he points out the inherent defects in the Jagirdari Act. His article on Krishna—Pennar projects is extremely valuable to know the allocation of water for irrigation purpose in Andhra region. His versatile wit, his light touch, his brilliant commonsense appeared irresistibly to the minds of Andhras. Also found in these collections are Independence day special *Andhra Patrika* (15-8-47), Special Issues in connection with the formation of Andhra State (*Andhra Prabha* and '*Andhra yatrika*' dt. 1-10-1953), Republic day issue of *Andhra Patrika* (26-1-1950) and Hindu's Survey of In-

dian Industry from 1958 to 1969. The native press to be useful indication of the under currents which may be running through the masses of Indian population. The native press was and is the best and surest index of knowing the mind of the people.

8. *Sri Koiiah Pragadae Collection*

Sri Pragada Kotiah, member of the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council is one of the leaders of the weaving community of South India, has given nearly 140 papers (press clippings etc.) has now been deposited in the State Archives of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad in indefinite loan. There is much information to be gleaned from them regarding (a) problem of textile industries; (b) plight of hand-loom weavers; (c) Hand-loom weavers movement; (d) historical background of the problems facing the hand-loom industry; (e) report on the Textile Enquiry committee; (f) Textile Industry in South India etc.

The collection of papers on the whole throws a good deal of light on the personality of Sri Pragada kotiah's selfless and dedicated service for championing the cause of weavers for their socio-economic transformation.

9. *Collection of Libraries.*

The Guntur District Central Library, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh has donated back issues of newspapers, e.g. (a) *Andhra Pradesh* (1923 and 1938) (b) *Andhra Grama Palanama* (1940-41) (c) *Subhodini* (1934) (d) *Janavani* (1938) (e) *Zamin ryot* (1934) (f) *Prajamitra* (1937) (g) *Andhra Prabha* (1939) etc. The collection provides much information about the freedom movement in Andhra and contains a great deal of information on the biographies of Andhra leaders, village administration and the literary personnel.

10. *Veerasalinga Kavi Samaja Grandhalayam Kumudhavalli Bhimavaram, West godavari Dist Collection.*

The Secretary of the above mentioned library has given a Telugu volume published in connection with the celebrations of Bhupati Raju, who was a disciple of Kandukuri Veerasalingam Panthulu. The volume contains valuable information on the many sided activities of Bhupati Raju. It gives information about Bhupati Raju's campaign against untouchability and illiteracy and his yoman service for the Bramho Samaj in the Gsdavari District. Bhupati Raju was one of the pioneers of library movement in Andhra. Photo of Veerasalingam along with the members of Veerasalinga Kavi Samaj Grandhalayam was also included in the celebrations volume.

11. *Sri Nagabhushanam Paturi Collection*

Sri Paturi Nagabhushanam is one of the founder-members of "Andhra

Pradesh Grandalayodyama Samsta" and an ardent Gandhian has donated nearly 60 back issue of Telugu newspapers to the state Archives. The papers like (a) Trilinga (1954); (b) Vanyajati; (c) Abhinava Bharati (1911); (d) Vidya Patrika (1920); (e) Vishistatwata Patrika (1911) etc. The papers give information on wide-range of topics from religions to politics. The collection also presents interesting glimpses of some of the social customs prevalent during the period.

12. *Saxena Guru Charan Das, Collection.*

Sri Guru Charan Das Saxena has donated nearly 15 back issues of *Hamjoli* (1932), *Narang Khild* (Special 1st number), *Nizam Gazette* 1342 F, *Diwan Bistak* (Persian), *Rasideri Deccan* (1350 H) *Panchayat* (1948-51). Some of the papers had kept close watch over the affairs the erstwhile Hyderabad State. The collection constitutes a valuable contribution to the study of Deccan history and it provides a clear idea about the potentialities of news-paper materials as a source for historical research.

13. *Satyanarayana, Akula Collection.*

Sri A. Satyanarayana has donated a volume 'Munnuru kapu Pradeepika' (Toluge) to the State Archives. The volume gives a birds eye view of the Mannuru Sangam from 1925 onwards and leading personalities associated with the organization and their untiring zeal for the establishment of hostels for Kapu students etc.

14. *Satyanarayana Kambhampati (Senior)*

The Manual of Vizagapatnam', 'Kissan document' and 'Sandesam' back issues are the collections acquired from Sri K. Satyanarayana as a free gift. There is much information to be gleaned from the Vizagapatnam Manual (in Telugu 1890?) regarding the history of the various Zamindars in the Vizagapatnam District. the administrative history and it also narrates the customs and manners of aboriginal tribes and the enlightened approach of British Civil Servants to curb the human killings. The Manual also gives information about the origin and spread of Telugu language in the Vizagapatnam District.

Kishan's document(1951) reveals about the discontinuance of armed struggle in Telangana. 'The Sandesam' a Telugu monthly was started by Sri K. Satyanarayana and others to propagate the Marxist ideology among the people. The back issues of New Age, a political monthly of Communist party of India also provide useful information on feudalism, Indian economic problems etc.

15. *Dr. Ghiyas Siddiqui Collection.*

Dr. Ghiyas Siddiqui has donated 50 family documents belonging to his grandfather's jagir in Asifnagar, Karimnagar District. A careful study of the document will yield useful information regarding the socio-economic conditions of the people. The farmers account books also afford interesting glimpses of the some of the social customs relevant during the beginning of the 20th century. The price pattern in 1890, the wages for the prostitutes, the establishment of Directorate of prostitution ect. are some of the aspects covered by the collection. The papers are in Persian and Urdu.

16. *Sivarao, Digavalli Collection.*

Sri Digavalli Venkata Siva Rao is a writer and a historian. He has donated Six Telugu manuscript volumes which gives useful information about the prices. The collection consists of the following:

(a) The Account Ledger of Digavalli Venkataratnam Panthulu (1850-1908) Retd. Sub-Magistrate, Cocanadabt throws light on expenditure account of marriage held on 10th June 1907 A.D.

(b) The Digavalli Family Diary furnishes information about their family history.

(c) The Ledger Account Books of Digavalli family provides information relating to the execution of pronotes and interest particulars etc.

The family papers are valuable source of information on rural economy, the farmer's standard of living and their consumption of manufacture of goods rural social structure and the contemporary concepts of status class.

17. *Sri Soma Bhupal Collection*

Sri Soma Bhupal, former member of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly belonging to the family of erstwhile Amarachinta *Samstanam* has donated one copper plate inscription of 1611 A.D. (in Telugu). It gives valuable information about the sale of Mirasi to get rid of debts. etc. The collection also furnishes information concerning to the He has also donated three files pertaining to the erst while *Samstanam*. It focures some light on the genealogy of Rajas of Atmakur-Amarachinta *Samstanam* and their properties. The published Urdu paper collections provide a useful information about the historical background of Amarachinta with geographphical surrounding with seven photographs of the Rajas that ruled the *Samstanam*.

18. *Rama Krishna Mission Collection, Hyderabad*

The Secretary, Rama Krishna Mission' Hyderabad has donated one souvenir to this Department. It gives useful information about the activities of Rama Krishna Mutt from 1899 onwards the relief services undertaken by the Mission during cyclone and famine times. It also provides a short history of Rama Krishna Mission and its branches in Andhra Pradesh.

19. *Prop N. G. Ranga Collection.*

'Vahini' a Telugu political weekly started by Prof. N.G. Ranga Member of parliament has been acquired by this Department on indefinite loan basis. They provide valuable information on the growth of labour and handloom weavers' organization, the *kisan* movement in Andhra, the people's agitation for *Zamindari* Land Abolition, *Munagala* Peasant Movement etc.

20. *Rama Krishna Rao, Burgala Collection.*

Sri Burgula Rangarapham has donated nearly 1000 rare and valuable books (Telugu and Urdu) to the State Archives. The rare books included in the collection are: (1) Telugu literature under Mysore Rulers', (2) Reddikula Nirnaya Chandrika, (3) Vasth Vidya Mahodarai; (4) Vostu Vignana Sarvaswamu, (5) Congress Samstanamulu, (6) Hinduism M.N. Roy's Rationalistic thought' etc. Nearly 70 rare books are located in the huge collections pertaining to different aspects of history and politics and are very useful for reference for the scholars.

21. *Venkatanandam Goparaju's Collection.*

Sri Goparaju Venkatanandam, a journalist of Nidadavole, West Godavari District, has presented papers like; History of Mogalturu; History of Nidadavole; Tadapatri-Srya Kutumba Sastry's life history to the A.P. State Archives.

They fill the lacuna in the regional history and give valuable information about the kings, the temples, peoples, customs etc., in the Godavari region.

22. *Venkata Subba Rao, Gummididola Collection.*

Smt. Rajya Lakshmi, daughter of late Gummidala Venkata Subba Rao, Amalapuram East Godavari Dt. has presented 196 papers belonging to his father.

G. V. Subbarao's letters addressed to Duggirala Gopala Krishnayya, Mahatma Gandhiji etc are remarkably serious lucid and intelligent. The back

issues of 'Gohsti' (1934-68) gives information about the freedom struggle in the contry in general and Andhra area in particulars the collection also contains papers pertaining to: (a) Land marks in the movement for linguistic province in India, (b) The problem of small states, (c) The Andhra provincial congress Nationalist conference (1935), (d) the provincial Hindu Mahasabha (e) The Bramhapatnam scheme, (f) Andhra Swarajya party minutes, (g) G.V.S. views on Mountbatten plan (1942) and other paper cuttings.

The task of salvaging old records in private custody is an hazardous one because of the general ignorance and apathy which are too evident among the owners of the private records. In most causes people are not willing to part with their family papers, as such it is a matter of urgent necessity to take copies of them.

The private archival collections are of immense historical value, but that they are not being cared for and preserved in the manner they ought to be they may lose their culttural heritage and importance. Keeping this view the Research Assistants under the administrative control of Director of State Archives have been surveying and collecting the private archives from every nook and corner of the State of Andhra Pradesh, for preserving on scientific line without losing their intrinsic vaue and importance. The Director of State Archives is assuring all the donners of private archives that the records will be preserved in tact with the donor's insignia in show cases and they will be preserved with the inscription that they have been acquired by the State Archives through donor's kind generosity and patriotism.

Simple Methods of Safeguarding the Records*

Pala Krishna Moorthy

In the evolution of writing materials, stone appears to be the first material on which effigies, characters and letters were engraved by the ancient man. Later, man has used a vast variety of materials to record and communicate his ideas. Papyrus bark was used for writing in ancient Egypt. Pigments were used for inscribing characters on them. Baked clay tablets were used for writing in Mohenjo-Daro. Leather was used for writing in Central Asia. Parchment made from the skin of sheep was used as writing material as early as 1500 B.C. Palmleaves were used in ancient India. The writing was inscribed with the help of a sharp steel pen called the "stylus". Copper plates were used for writing documents in mediaeval India. The Characters were carved. Cloth as writing material has also been very much used. Documents on cloth were mostly stored in roll form with wooden rods attached to either end.

Eventhough, it is not possible to say with certainty how paper came to be invented, legends say that paper was first discovered in China. The first rag paper was made in China about 105 A.D. Pigments were used for writing on them. Mill made paper on large scale was introduced in Europe in 1490 A.D. Since then paper is being exclusively used for writing and printing.

It is a common practice that every citizen keeps a record of his activities in some form or other. Now-a-days almost every human action is recorded on paper. Without paper, we cannot think of the present day life. The world is running on paper next to currency. We can say that we are now in the paper age.

Records are kept not only by Government Institutions but also by individuals, house-owners, business people and so on. Records are kept by Government to improve Governmental efficiency. Records reflect the origin and growth of a Government and are the main sources of the information on all its activities. Government records contain evidence of financial and legal commitments which must be preserved to protect the Government. These records are necessary to determine policy and handle organisational and procedural problems. Records form the basis of our judicial system. In short, records are the foundation upon which the Government structure is built.

A businessman need records for his business work. His business records constitute the basic business dealings by means of which the work and his business is accomplished.

It is our common experience that in our houses we maintain records, like correspondence, cheque books, receipts of payments, like house tax, current bills, records of property, family budget, insurance policies, licences for rodio, T.Vs, vehicles, shops, expenditure accounts, ration cards, Newspapers, books used for our degrees and books used by our children and so on Law-years possess good personal libraries.

Most of us do not mind to keep the records in order. We simply leave them in drawers, or file them away in disorder. When any of these records are required for reference we start searching for them and land no where. Therefore they should be kept in order for future ready references and use.

When the records are kept somewhere and uncared for they are bound to attack by several enemies of records. Paper is subject to attack from several sources such as heat, sunlight, moisture, dust and dirt. They damage paper and cause deterioration in its properties.

Mildew and fungi are microscopic organisms which grow almost everywhere. The hot and humid climate of tropics favours their existence. Due to fungus growth the paper becomes soft while leather starts rotting and binding gives way. A common growth on paper is the brown spots which are termed foxing. To eliminate mildew infection precautions like cleanliness and maintenance of paper temperature and relative humidity are necessary. Free circulation of air, cleanliness, and use of fungicides help to prevent growth of moulds and fungi.

Some insects are dangerous to records. The insects attack records for the cellulose contained in the paper and books for the starch and glue used in their binding. Book worms (*gastrallus indicas*) silverfish, cockroaches psocids (booklice,) termites (white ants) are the main insects that damage the records. Bookworms are voracious eaters of all kinds of papers. Cockroaches, silverfish, booklice are surface feeders and they effect the sizing material of book covers.

These insects can be controlled by maintaining cleanliness and constant vigilance inside the record room. Use of insect repellants and insecticides such as naphthalene, sodiumfouride, D.D.T. Powder, and spraying of formulations such as finit, pip, sheltos etc., help in controlling insects meance. Places like dark and dingy corners, back of almirahs, cracks, and crevices in floors should be periodically treated with insecticidal sprays and powders.

Fumigation is a process which can be done in air tight rooms or specially constructed chambers by means of which the insects in the records can be destroyed. Fumigants should be used carefully as they are poisonous and inflammable.

The other important factors for deterioration in paper are heat, moisture, exposure to light, relative humidity. Even exposure for short periods to high temperature causes paper to become yellow and brittle. For preserving paper in good condition it is essential to maintain both moderate temperature and moderate humidity. Adequate ventilation with arrangements for air circulation in every part of the record-room minimises the rate of decay of paper.

The greatest damage is caused by ultra-violet rays. These rays not only bring about loss of strength but cause oxidation of cellulose. Therefore direct sunlight should never be allowed to fall on documents. Glasses of lemon yellow, red or green colour afford protection against the action of light. Yellow and green curtains on windows will keep away the bad effects of direct sunlight in a record-room.

Dust and dirt are sources of both physical and chemical degradation of paper. Dust attracts moisture from the air which helps to catalyse degradation process. Dust is best reduced by systematic dusting of the records and by the use of proper air cleaning equipment.

Neglect of a few simple precautions sometimes resulting in irreparable loss through fire accidents. Further prevention is always better than cure. So if we carefully follow the preventive measures we can give to our records longer life and there by we can make the old and dead records speak.

1. Stagnant air favours growth of mildew on records. So rooms where records are kept should be provided with adequate air circulation.

2. Sunlight, direct or diffused should not be allowed to fall on records. Windows in record-rooms should be provided with light yellow or saffron coloured thick screen. They should also be provided with wire netting to prevent sabotage. Some of the records are best protected by storing them in document boxes.

3. Shelves and almirahs should be kept at least 15cm. away from the walls, floors and ceilings. Adequate space between them should be provided for proper ventilation and cleaning.

4. For safe guarding against excessive heat, humidity and dryness the record-room should be provided with adequate arrangement for free air circulation. The modern scientific method for controlling excessive heat humidity and dryness is air-conditioning. But it is a costly one,

5. All electric wiring in the record room should be through conduit pipes.
6. Carbondioxide extinguishers should be provided in the record-room for protection against fire and the important factor here is that one should know how to operate the equipment.
7. Naphthalene balls firmly tied in a cloth should be kept on the shelves or in the space available in between the records. It acts as an insect repellent.
8. Records damaged by water should not be dried in the sun. They should never be dried by placing them near fire. Always they should be dried in shade preferably under a fan.
9. Chenricals and insecticides should not be sprayed on records, documents, books etc. Spraying should be done on the floor, walls and behind almirahs, etc.
10. Dusting of records should be done regularly to keep the records dust free and clean. This can be done with the help of a domestic vacuum cleaner or with a piece of cloth.
11. Smoking should be strictly prohibited in the Record-Rooms and any type of open fire should also be forbidden. Taking of food in the record-room should not be allowed. Taking food in the record-room gathers rats and other insects.
12. No chemicals should be stored in the record-room.
13. Periodic inspection of record rooms will help in eliminating the possibility of insect attack.
14. Pulling out files from packed bundles and pulling out documents from files should be avoided.
15. Using original records as pad for writing should always be avoided.
16. Banging the bundles of records on the tables and throwing down files on the floor are unhealthy practices.
17. Entering the record-room should be restricted and limited only to those who know the arrangement and who are connected with the work.

Any person interested in records can try these simple precautions without much difficulty for safeguarding them. All endeavours for proper prevention and storage will be vain if sufficient care is not observed in handling the records.

Your records are also a part and parcel of our Nation's wealth. Hence try to save your records and save the invaluable wealth of hidden historical facts in your records and help the researchers to bring them to the light.

Notes

- * This article deals with only the fundamentals of safeguarding the records. The scope of modern scientific approach for safeguarding the records is wider and ever increasing. The notes supplied by the Institute of Archival Training, National Archives of India during the correspondence course of Archives keeping helped me a lot while preparing the article. During the practical training, of the correspondence course of Archives keeping that took place at Hyderabad, the learned lecturers Sri P. K. Ghosh, Sri Yashpal Katpalia and Sri O. P. Bhugra cleared patiently many of my doubts in the subject and I am thankful to them,

Un-excavated Megalithic Sites in Karimnagar District of Andhra Pradesh

S. Narayan Rao

Introduction

The Cairns are scattered over a large areas of the State, in the morrum soil, which is the main disintegration product of granite. They are collected in groups, varying in number from a few to many hundreds. It is necessary that their distribution should be known first. As in other parts of the world, Cairns are found on fairly high ground, usually near granite out-crops and where the soil is not fit for cultivation. It is true that castor seed and other dry crops are grown now-a-days round Cairns and over their remnants; but these plants grow well on poor soil which is unsuitable for the other crops. We can never hope to locate all; for, their site is away from cultivation and often covered with scrub jungle are forest. Under such circumstances they are not easily recognised. The Cairns are so destroyed, and jungle are so prominent that a casual observer could hide through them often and may notice nothing. Yet there are hundreds in the group.

Each group indicates prolonged use; for, it cannot be supposed that any but important local chiefs are religious leaders could have received such elaborate and expensive interment. The granite morrum is the area of Cairn; and as far as we know, none are found in the trap black cotten soil. However, let us not infer that the population was always different; for it may well be that the absence of the Cairn on the far side of the river is simply due to the fact that the material for making Cairns is not at hand. Slabs would be difficult or impossible to obtain and the soil, etc., would bring is other difficulties.

Surface Features

The most striking surface feature is the stone circle. The largest so far found is of 6.84 Mts., in diameter, in the group to be referred to as Moulali. The average size varies from 4.30 Mts. to 6.30 Mts., with smaller circles descending to about 4 Mts. The number of stones and their size varies greatly. In some, the stones are small; while in other none would weigh less than

a ton. A small circle would have about 13 stones one a larger one 40. One at Kadambapur has a double circle. It may be that the number of stones has no further significance than that corresponding to the number of guns in a solute. One may quote from Lord Avebury on this point. This group contains nearly hundred Cairns.

The size of the tumulus may be taken as a rough indication of the esteem in which the deceased was held. The stones are placed at equal distance and the number of them probably had some significance. As a general rule, the stone which form the circle are granite. However, some are of trap and in many instances the later have been used for neighbouring buildings.

Rouble Packing

The next surface feature to be referred to is the rubble packing, which fills the space inside the circle to a depth of roughly 1 to 4 ft. It is composed of granite or a trap which ever is most easily procured locally. This rubble packing may once have been much higher than is now found and the soil between the the stone having been washed away. The rubble does not now project much above the level of the stone circle. The cap stones which are large central stones are placed in the centre of the circle. What is buried under this is can not be known unless it is opened. The *waddars* are busy in destroying them and have already demolished completely several of them. Sometimes there are no such stones and this account merely for their absence. Surface conditions are of interest, as they afford intrusive evidence of age.

Erosion affords more information and two groups have been studied fairly and carefully. In their hardly any erosion has taken place where Cairns are situated on the top of the local elevations. But, it is seen that where there is a dip in the group, there is a greater flow of water. The wearing away of the ground surface seems to vary directly with the amount of water which would flow over it.

Wherever one goes, one hears the Cairns being called the "Rakshas Tombs"; and it is perhaps a coincidence that the same expression is found in Europe where they are know as "The Giants Graves".

Ramunipatla

The village Ramunipatla is situated 8 kms. from Siddipeta town, on the Karimnagar-Hyderabad highway, in the Medak district. Towards the south of the village, $\frac{1}{2}$ km., away there is a megalithic burial complex which consists of 50 intacts burials of Cairn group having single boulder circle without rubble packing. This complex is existing on the southern slopes of the small hillock. Due to the active cultivation of the surrounding fields, the villagers have disturbed and removed the circle boulders and presently

the complex is on the plain fields. A canal flows $\frac{1}{2}$ km., away from the burial site which flows from the Siddipeta tank. The total area of the site is nearly about 4 acres and it is under the ownership of the village Sarpanch Sri. P. Balaiah. Almost all the burials are bereft of the cap stone due to vandalism of the villagers. One of the burials which is intact having single circle consists of 15 circle boulders of 83 cms., thickness and of 1 Mt., in diameter. The internal diameter of the megalith is of 4.46 mts., and the external diameter measures 6.40 Mts. This group may belong to pit circle as there are no cist slabs it is 90 Mts., away from the main road towards south-west.

Just 9 Mts., away from the above megalith there is another pit circle visible. The internal diameter of the megalith is 3.30 Mts., and the external diameter is of 4.35 Mts. The average thickness of each boulder is 40 cms., and the length is 1.15 Mts. The total number of circle boulders are 12 in number. The other structural appendages, such as Cap Stone and rubble packing are now absent. Another megalith which consists of 12 circle boulders and the internal and external diameter of the megalith is 4.30 and 6.84 Mts.

Tummanapalli

The village Tummanapalli is situated 4 kms. south of Huzurabad on the Karimnagar-Warangal highway. There are few traces of Megalithic Pit circles with scattered boulders and rubble packing. The total area of the site extends to $\frac{1}{2}$ acre. Due to cultivation the site was completely disturbed. Only 6 intact burials are noticed. The average diameter of the burial is of 6 Mts., and total number of boulders are 14 in number of a single circle. It is existing on the plain fields. The distance between two megaliths is $1\frac{1}{2}$ Mts.

Chilpur

Ten kms., away from Huzurabad, towards north-west corner, there is a small village named Chilpur. On the outskirts of the village there is a small group of Megalithic burial complex which extends over an area of one acre with single circle stone on the slopes of small hillock, by which a small rivulet passes. The distance between two megaliths is 2 Mts. There are only 2 megaliths consisting of a cap stone with a thickness of 75 cms., and length and breadth are $1\frac{1}{2} \times 2$ Mts. Towards north-east corner, one exposed megalith was found; but no evidence of pottery are available. It seems the local people must have exposed out of curiosity. The total number of circle boulders range from 14 to 21 in number.

Sirisipalli

Seven kms., from Chilpur towards north-west, there is a huge burial complex having nearly 40 in-tact cairns. There are two double outer circles with

16 inner circle stones or circle boulders and 19 outer circle boulders. The internal diameter of the megalith is 6 Mts., and the external diameter is $7\frac{1}{2}$ Mts. The second one is having 19 and 21 circle boulders in the inside and outside respectively. The internal diameter of the megalith is 8 mts., and the external diameter is of 9 Mts. It is on the plain fields; but there are no traces of rivulet or a hillock. The land is under active cultivation.

Singapur

It is situated at a distance of 6 kms., from the town of Huzurabad, towards east, on the way to Karimnagar. The site is situated slightly on the north-west corner of Singapur. The site lies on the middle of a number of rocky heights. About $1\frac{1}{2}$ kms, away on the rocky ridge, nearly 40 to 50 stone circles are visible. The internal diameter of the megalith varying from 4.6 Mts., to 7 Mts., and the number of circle boulders ranging from 16 to 21 Mts. Among these, the one which is quite intact, consists, of 16 stone circle boulders with a diameter of 7 Mts. The average measurement of boulder is 1.50×0.90 Mts. Most of the burials are pit circle. But a few cap stone are also visible which are completely disturbed, to remove the slab. On the surface I collected few sherds of black and red ware which are evidently dug-out from the burial. Besides these there are 60 more burials. The entire soil is brownish in composition with less amount of sand and is under cultivation of castor seeds and maize.

Kanagarti

This village is situated at a distance of 9 kms., north-west of Peddapalli on the way to Dharmavaram. It lies in the midst of rocky heights. To reach this place we have to take a turn 8 kms. away from Peddapalli-Dharmavaram road at a junction called Kanagarti, and to reach only by walk which is a path-way of one km. It is difficult to reach this place during the rainy season. To the east of the village about one km., away, on the top of rich out-crop of granite there are 9 to 12 stone circles. The diameter of the megaliths found here varies from 5 to 6 kms. The distance between two megaliths is nearly $10\frac{1}{2}$ Mts. After thorough exploration I was able to collect few sherds of black and red ware which may be assigned to the Megalithic period. The local people expressed that there were about 50 burials, about 15 years ago; and later they were disturbed for making the land for cultivation and for some other purpose.

Just $\frac{1}{2}$ km., away from the burial site towards north, there are traces of early historical phase (site). Presently the structures are not visible as the land is completely under active cultivation. Because of its richness of the soil. (Black soil). It yielded, red brown, black and red ware, a few terracotta beads and few brick bats. It is not possible to explore thoroughly, as it is full of seasonal crops.

Malkapuram

Of all the districts of Andhra Pradesh, the Karimnagar district abounds greatly in megalithic sites. Near the village of Malkapur, north-west of Karimnagar, 2 miles (south-west) of Kothapalli, lies series of granite hills, covering an area of $\frac{1}{2}$ Sq. mile. Even after careful exploration of the area, near the village and the slopes of the hills, no evidence of either megalithic burial complex nor of any historical site could be found.

Thousands of megalithic burials are noticed in the south of Vindhya (Mauryan Telangana in Andhra Pradesh). Among these, particular mention may be made of three types: one is pit burial; (2) cist; and (3) Sarcophagus and urn. The pit burial is rectangular, slightly bigger than the human size quarried into the earth to a depth of 5 to 6 feet. After the remains of the dead were entered the pit was filled up and a circle of boulders erected around the pit. A Cairn of small rubble was filled inside the circle to appear like tumulus. In the second type a cist or box made up of four oblong granite slabs (Orthostats) was constructed under the earth surface and the boulder circle with the Cairn tumulus is erected.

The third type of burial is trough; either made up of terracotta or stone in which the remains of the dead body were inhumed. The urn pots were chiefly intended to bury the skeletal remains of children. Generally the burials were filled with black and red ware pot, dishes, stands iron implements like dagger, javelins, knives, arrow heads etc, and terracotta animal figurines.

Conclusion

It is still an unsolved riddle as to why the Megalithic burials are absent in Uttarapada—why there is a sudden jump of these burials from Baluchistan to South India? Were these Megalithic folk Dravidians? If so, how do we explain these Megalithic burials with that of Baluchistan, Iran, Egypt and Europe including England? These are some problems which cannot be solved by any other source except by thorough excavation and exploration of the Megalithic burial sites; such a study will also provide the material culture, as revealed by these megaliths.

Book Reviews

NEW SATAVAHANA SCULPTURES FROM ANDHRA AMARAVATHI

by Sri P. Sitapati, M.A. (Leeds), B.Sc., I.A.S., F.R.A.S.; (London) and Dr. V. V. Krishna Sastry, M.A. Ph.D. Published by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1980. (Archaeological Series No. 54).

This monograph is the outcome of first-hand field study made by Sri P. Sitapati of the sculptures unearthed recently during the excavations at Sri Amareswara Temple in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh. The discovery was by chance made during the course of the renovation of Sri Amareswara Temple. These were the Buddhist sculptures belonging to the Amaravathi Stupa and found in the ceiling of the Nandi *mandapa* of the temple. While excavating the foundation pits for the construction of a *gopuram* to the above temple some beautiful carved sculptures were discovered. The book under review is the deep and painstaking study of the new sculptures made for the first which throws a flood of new light on the 'Amaravathi School of Art'—the pride and production of the Andhra sculptures.

The book is divided into three portions—Historical background; description of the plates and plates.

In the first section of historical background the authors give an interesting flash back to the founding of the Satavahana dynasty in the Deccan after the disintegration of the Mauryan Empire and the introduction of Buddhism in the Deccan to that of Amaravathi.

The most important feature of the book is the description of sculptures, profusely illustrated with twenty-four photographs. Besides the general views of the Amareswara Swamy temple etc., the unique and most important plates of the sculpture, divided into two categories—Secular and Religious are: Preraphaelite scene depicting Siddhartha's last glance at Yasodhara and Rahula; adoration of Bodhi tree with the nobles paying their oblation; Buddha's throne with Dharmachakra on the pillar; secular scenes in Kapilavastu; Ayakuta Jataka tale and flying figure; great renunciation scenes; Buddha preaching his first sermon; Torso of a nude lady; Yast of a Buddhist stupa; sculpture of feminine beauty etc., to cite a few only.

The authors in their description of sculptures cover minute details of gorgeous decorations and the extreme perfection in sculptural art, particularly found in the delineation of the human, animal figures, medallions and the super ornamentation work. While dating the sculptures to the 2nd century A.D., the authors infer that at Amaravati they find the continuation of architectural and artistic motifs of the Mauryan periods.

Finally, this book with superb and profuse photographs from the pen of versatile authors is a valuable and note-worthy addition to the archaeological findings and a contribution to advancement of our knowledge.

The Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh needs to be congratulated for bringing out this monograph immediately after the unearthing of the sculpture.

M.A.N.

SOCIAL HISTORY OF AN INDIAN CASTE :

The Kayasths of Hyderabad; by Dr. Karen Isaksen Leonard; published, by O. U. P. Delhi, pp. 1353; Price: Rs.125/

It is a happy augury that more and more American scholars, who visit this country to study, are coming forward with engagingly written books for the benefit of students and others interested in the subject. One such book is *Social History of an Indian Caste: The Kayasths of Hyderabad* by Karen Isaksen Leonard, Assistant Professor in the School of Social Sciences at the University of California, Irvine. I agree with her statement that "the presence of this caste and culture had proved significant to the successful maintenance of a muslim political kingdom in the predominantly Hindu South", although she has regrettably not examined its implications in terms of the social and philosophical questions that it raise. Every page of the book bears testimony to the patience and diligence with which she has collected her material from sources available to her, which is what makes for its comprehensiveness. After a general introduction the author surveys the emergence and development of the Kayasths as a distinct caste, who trace their descent from their mythic ancestor, Chitrageetha, (Founding figure and patron deity of the Kayastha Caste). Obtaining first hand oral information from more than three hundred families of Asthanas, Bhatnagars, Gours, Mathurs, Nigams, Saksenas, and Srivastavas, Dr. Leonard attempts a modern history of Kayasths of Hyderabad, which is one of the most perspicacious studies of its kind. With her formidable scholarship, zeal and critical acumen she has in the course of a decade (1966-1976) completed what should be acknowledged as a highly significant and readable historical account of the Kayasths of Hyderabad. Instead of the usual summary accounts and surveys in colourful, high-flown language or the haphazard and selective treatment of topics, Dr. Leonard chooses to present a clear, comprehensive, and scientifically organised study of the life of the Kayasths of Hyderabad in its social, economic and cultural aspects. What one however, misses in this wide-ranging social history is a critical evaluation of their behavioural patterns accounting for their distinctiveness as a social class and caste. Dr. Leonard seems more intent on presenting a survey valuation rather than an incisive analysis of the social determinants of the Kayastha's social and political behaviour. However, we find in this book for the first time a reliable and exhaustive survey of the subcaste—Mathura, Saksena, Gour, Bhatnagar, Nigam, and Srivastavas, and for the first time again we get a revealing account of their economic resources and occupational strategies.

Not only the wealth of contents but also in the style of presentation adopted here we see distinctiveness. The author selects the most valuable representative passages of the Andhar Pradesh State Archives News Paper and journal collections "Kayastha Kul Nirnaya" and interviews with Kayastha individuals and renders them faithfully into English in the course of her exposition.

This book, divided into four parts and sixteen chapters, is, indeed, a mine of information concerning the Kayasths of Hyderabad and its value is enhanced by its appendices, which include (1) Summary of Information collected about the Hyderabad Kayasths; (2) The Mughlai House-hold Administration; (3) Legendary Kayasths of Shahlibanda; (4) Inter-marriage by sub-castes; Bibliography and an Index.

Shiv Mohanlal

MEDIAEVAL GOA—A SOCIO-ECONOMIC HISTORY

Teotonio R. De Souza, Concept Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1979, 315 Pages, Price Rs . 65.

Mediaeval Goa by T.R. De Souza was a dissertation submitted to the University of Poona for the Ph. D Degree. It is now published with the addition of a concluding chapter. Dr. A.R. Kulkarni, under whose guidance this dissertation was written, in his Foreword, commends the work as it is written by a son of the soil and also by one who is disciplined by his Jesuit training. The Introduction sketches the political background of Portuguese relations with other powers aptly called rivals (the British and the Dutch) and neighbours (the Deccan powers). The main contribution of the author is in elucidating accurately the economic and social conditions of the Goans in the 17th century. This contribution is divided into two parts—(1) Rural economy and corporate life; and (2) Urban economy and Municipal organisation.

The part I deals with the history of the village community, working of the agrarian economy and corporate life of the village community. The Goan village communities belonged to the *joint village* type, the entire village owning the lands in common and acting as a unit of land revenue. The village administration was entirely in the hands of a village council or *ganvakari*, which was made up of the representatives of the clans that claimed to descend from the first settlers of the village. Portuguese rule meant in part that both the State and the Church worked together to force upon the Goans the Roman Catholic Church. The result was the disruption of the social and traditional bonds which held the village community together. As the author says 'Hindu temples disappeared and religious and social celebrations of Hindus in public were banned'. In some cases village councils came to be dominated by convert *ganvakars*. Churches replaced temples as centres of learning and church schools were maintained at the cost of the village communities. Finally, in 1684, Portuguese was made the medium of instruction in schools and thus the native language Konkani was denied an opportunity to develop as an independent language with a literature of its own.

The second part deals with urban economy and municipal organisation. While in the villages, the Hindus lost many of their lands and their dominant position in society, in cities they held their own. They dominated business and controlled fiscal administration. On the other hand the share of the native Christians in the urban economy as artisans or tax-farmers was just marginal. The slaves, who were owned by the Portuguese, and who formed a fourth of the city population consisting of both Asians and Africans were often subjected to most cruel treatment. For the Portuguese few, the city was a paradise, "a lotus-eating island of the blest." Naturally the common people had to pay the price for this paradise. An additional agency of oppression from which the British spared India was to be found in Goa in the Jesuit Religious

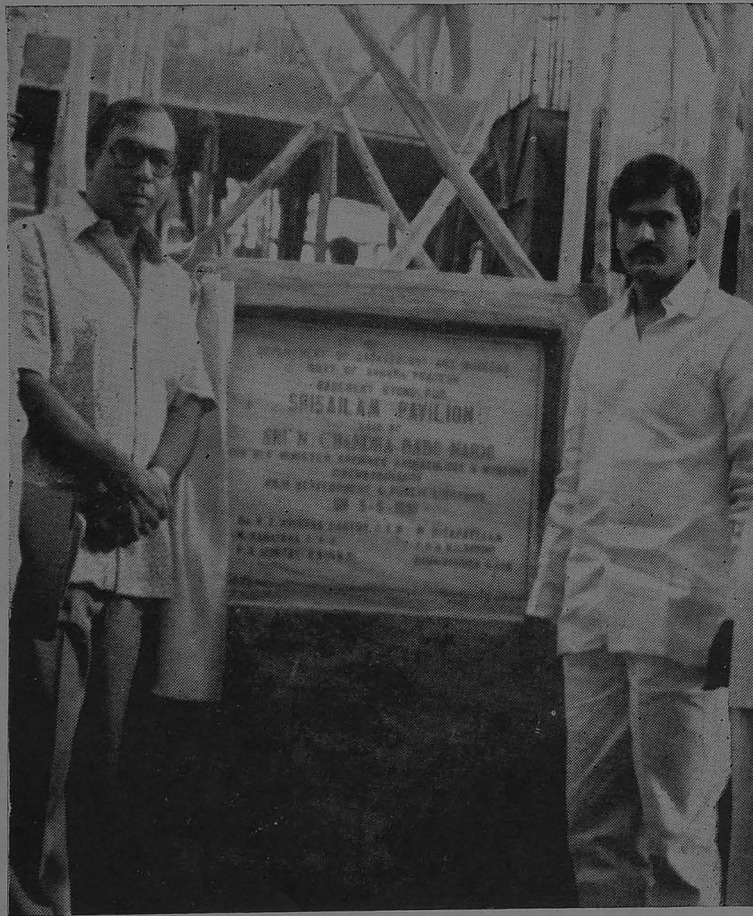
Houses. After describing the different classes of population in the cities, the author sketches the history of the Municipal organisation and its relations with the Portuguese Government, which is followed by an account of labour and market rganisation. As regards the former, the Portuguese introduced the pattern of guild organisation prevailing in Lisbon. The Jews and the Hindus controlleo most of the economy as traders, merchants, tax-farmers and artisans. Tdhe city administrators tried to protect the interests of the consumers.

In ttthe last chapter called "Overview and Preview" the author concludes that no all blame for the native woes can be laid at the feet of the colonial rulers. He thinks that the all-out collaboration of the Hindu business community in revenue administration and trade must share a part of the blame. He is also of the opinion that "misinterpretation seeks to identify Goan Christian community with the former colonial exploiters." It is possible that the author who is very balanced in his views throughout, in this last particular, has lost his balance in trying to set right the injustice done to the Christian community and that both the Christians and the Hindus must share the blame equally for their collaboration with the foreign exploiters.

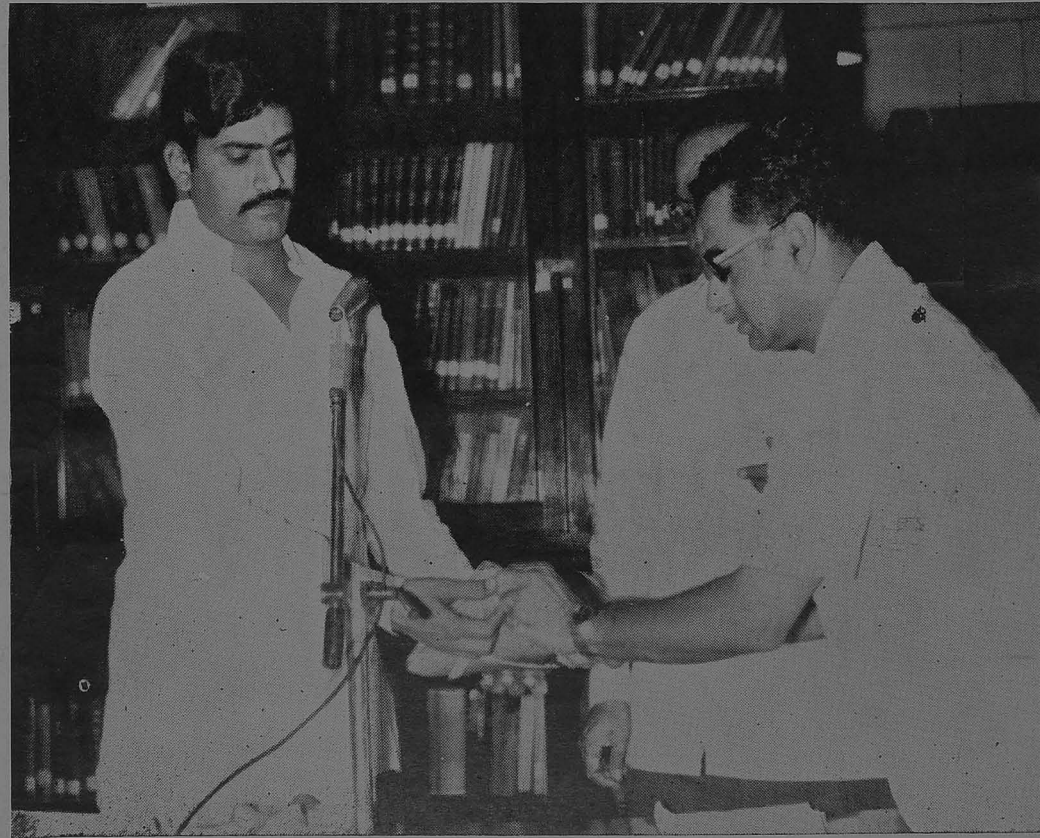
In most books, the complementary or reference matter is not given an important place; but in this book, the author has taken great pains in collecting and presenting effectively his reference material. The bibliographical essay is a model to research workers. He gives the background of the authors of the sources and thus helps the reader in evaluating their writing. This essay is followed by 25 appendices containing extracts from the sources illustrating the working of the rural and urban economy. A Glossary, Bibliography, Index, Maps and Diagrama have enhanced the utility of the work.

The author has amply succeeded in achieving his modest goal of setting a new research trend. We have every hope that under his able leadership the new Xavier Centre of Historical Research in Goa will become a worthy collaborator of the Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, Bombay. The printing and get-up are excellent.

Dr. G.S. Dikshit



Sri N. Chandra Babu Naidu, hon'ble Minister for archives, who laid the basement stone of Srisailam Pavillion on 5th May, 1981, is seen with Commissioner of archives, Archaeology and Museums.



Sri N. Chandra Babu Naidu, hon'ble Minister for archives released the special issue of Itihas (volume 8, no. 1) -Temples of Andhra Pradesh, at a function held on 5th May 1981. Dr. M.A.Nayeem, Research officer is presenting a copy of the issue to the Minister.



அன்பளிப்பு

ஆர். திருமலை



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